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PAKISTAN BUILDS ANEW*

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

There is no parallel in contemporary history to the cataclysm which engulfed Pakistan in 1971. A tragic civil war, which rent asunder the people of the two parts of Pakistan, was seized by India as an opportunity for armed ' intervention. The country was dismembered, its economy shattered and the nation's self-confidence totally undermined. Ninety-three thousand prioners of war were taken, including 15,000 civilian men, women and children. Considerable territory on the western front was overrun and occupied by India.

It was in this situation that, as the leader of the Pakistan People's Party, West Pakistan's largest political party in the National Assembly, I was called upon to assume the office of President. My foremost aim was to begin the task of reconstruction, economic, political and psychological, and to initiate processes which would produce the environment of peace in which alone such reconstruction could be successful. It was a formidable task.

II

Few observers abroad have any idea of the complex problems involved in Pakistan's regaining her sense of identity. If Pakistan had been dismembered by a civil war alone — tragic though that would have been — an adjustment to a new order would not have been so hard to achieve. But Pakistan had been the victim of unabashed aggressions: her eastern part seized by Indian forces. It was this fact that made it difficult for our people to be reconciled to the *fait* accompli, more so because the invasion was not an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary, it was but the climax of a long series of hostile and aggressive acts by India against Pakistan since, the establishment of the two as sovereign and independent states. Soon after the partition of the sub-continent in 1947, India totally disregarded not only the principles on which partition had been effected but all norms of international

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conduct by sending her troops into Kashmir, a Muslim-majority area, in defense of a Hindu maharaja who had been ousted by his rebellious subjects. Subsequently, India refused to allow the people of Kashmir to determine their future according to their own wishes, even though their right to do so had been embodied in resolutions of the United Nations which India had accepted. The pattern of India's succeeding actions toward her neighbors bore the same stamp of disregard for their rights. The relations between India and Pakistan have been particularly unfortunate. India has repeatedly massed troops on the frontiers of Pakistan, leading to two wars even before 1971.

Against this background, how could it be easy for the people of Pakistan to submit to aggression by India and to confer a certificate of legitimacy on its result?

This was but one dimension of the problem. Another was the fact that, since the early years of Pakistan's inception, democracy in Pakistan had been supplanted by dictatorship. The ruling elite, largely military, had recognized no principle of accountability to the people and had deprived them of all sense of participation. Decisions were taken in 1971 by a generals' junta which had sedulously cultivated its isolation from the people. When these decisions had a catastrophic result, popular reaction was one of incomprehension. A people broken and baffled takes time to embark on the task of revival and reconstruction.

We lay no claim to spectacular results, but it is a fact that Pakistan's recovery has been quicker than might have been expected under the circumstances. The prime factor in this revival, indeed its main stimultant, has been the restoration of democracy. Without popular participation in government, the movement toward reconstruction and peace would have lacked energy and a solid base. In April 1972, martial law was finally terminated and replaced by an Interim Constitution adopted unanimously by the representatives of the people. Popular governments were established at both the national and provincial levels. This meant that parties which are in opposition in the National Assembly formed their own coalition governments in two of the provinces. Within a few months of the passage of the Interim Constitution, a Constitutional Accord was signed by the leaders of all political parties in the country as the basis of the permanent Constitution. This national consensus on the country's fundamental law is now being embodied in a Constitution which provides for considerable

autonomy to the federating units and yet safeguards national unity.

The introduction of the democratic process is being accompanied by measures aimed at the establishment of an egalitarian society. These spring not from any abstract doctrine or ideological dogma but from the imperatives of progress. It was a mass movement which led to the creation of Pakistan. The nation's sense of identity and purpose could not, therefore, but be mutilated by an iniquitous system that widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. A native system of privileges and exploitation is as odious as one instituted by ālien rule. It was, therefore, essential to try to translate the egalitarian spirit of Islam, which continues to inspire our people into concrete terms of Socialist organization.

We are endeavouring to do this by imposing state control on a limited number of basic industries, by the enactment of effective measures for land reforms and the introduction of new labour laws. The economy we envisage is a mixed one, in which private enterprise is neither crippled nor allowed to appropriate the nation's wealth for the benefit of the few. Moreover, several reforms have been introduced in the social and educational fields.

Our target in our socio-economic program is not only a statistically gratifying increase in the GNP but an improvement in the lot of the common man, in the living standards of workers and peasants and a radical change in the social milieu. Such a change has to be felt by the people, and not only measured by economists, if it is to be real.

IV

The efforts of the government to spur national recovery would not have succeeded but for the resilience of the people of Pakistan. I pay tribute to their resolve not to be laid low by the upheaval of 1971. The signs of this determination are already observable. West Pakistan's export earnings in 1972 (up to December 15) amounted to $ 640 million compared with $ 660 million for both East and West Pakistan together and $ 461 million for West Pakistan, in 1971. Our foreign exchange reserves have doubled during was partitioned. In practical terms, therefore, it involves the relations between the states of the subcontinent, Unhappily, India never fully accepted the promise on which partition was founded and the relation-ship between India and Pakistan was consequently distorted.

Until the Simla Agreement of July 2, 1972, India's policy toward

Pakistan was hardly characterized by a spirit of peaceful co-existence. From the beginning, Mahatma Gandhi called Pakistan a "moral evil." The All-India Congress Committee adopted a resolution on June 14, 1947, which expressed the hope that "the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all." Even today, some Indian leaders dismiss Pakistan's existence as being based on no more than the medieval notion that religion alone constitutes nationhood. In doing so, they cling with stavistic fervour to the quasi-religious entity called Bharat, which in the mythical past embraced the subcontinent, and is now the alternative legal name for India in the Indian Constitution. The psychological basis of this attitude apart, its practical result can only be the suppression of the identity of the Muslim communities in the northeast and northwest. This identity is not rooted only in religion in the narrow sense of a theological system of belief and worship; it manifests itself it all facets of culture and, except during relatively brief periods of Gupta, Mughal and British rule, which overflowed the subcontinent, it has been sustained throughout history.

It is not a mere coincidence that the attitude of the Indian leadership toward the creation of Pakistan was identical in some ways to that of the British. In 1947, the British Prime Minister, the late Clement Attlee, expressed his "earnest hope" that the "severance" of India and Pakistan would "not endure." This was said at a time when Britain still hoped to retain South Asia within its sphere of influence. The denial of a national identity is an essential characteristic of a hegemonic attitude. Whether it was Britain or its Indian successors in the subcontinent, whoever has sought to establish hegemony over South Asia has been uneasy about Pakistan's independent existence.

Pakistan will never accept the concept of Indian hegemony in the subcontinent. Not only does this threaten our own existence and the stability of the subcontinent, but it is also equally against India's own real interests. Since her economy cannot sustain the role of a dominant power, she would have to depend to a large extent on outside assistance, and her prominence would be virtually that of whatever superpower she chose to ally herself with a given time. It is therefore in the interest of the global powers as much as of neighboring countries to see that a just balance is established in the subcontinent.

The realities of the subcontinent demand peace. If any progress is to be achieved, India must accept this overriding fact and approach the settlement of mutual problems and disputes in a more positive spirit. Such a spirit has not characterized her negotiations with Pakistan in the past. Too often her attitude has been marked by mental reservations. When the question of a "no-war" pact was first debated in 1950-191, Pakistan proposed that the pact should establish a machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Without such a provision, the pact would have amounted to a mere set of platitudes, a bland paraphrase of only one of the provisions of the U. N. Charter. Peaceful settlement of disputes is an essential concomitant of the renunciation of war. Despite this self-evident truth, India has not been willing to agree to the provisions of any such effective machinery.

India's negative attitude toward Pakistan descended to the overtly hostile in the conflict over the Rann of Kutch in April 1965, when India tried to seize that disputed territory in disregard of an agreement for a standstill, pending a peaceful settlement. Then followed the war of September 1965 over Kashmir, to be succeeded six years later by the cataclysmic war over East Pakistan. In spite of this past record, it was my hope that the Simla Agreement of July 1972 would lead to a more cooperative attitude on the part of India and her acceptance of the necessity of peace in the subcontinent. The agreement expressed the resolve of both governments to "put an end to the conflict and confrontation that had hitherto marred their relations" and asserted their determination that "the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two
countries."

When the Simla Agreement was concluded, I observed that it was a victory neither for India nor for Pakistan but for peace. Unfortunately, however, India does not seem so wholeheartedly dedicated to the attainment of peace as we had hoped. She allowed two factors to stand in the way of the normalization of relations between the countries of the subcontinent. The first was her wrangling over the delineation of the line of control in Kashmir, which held up the withdrawal of forces for four months, despite the provisions of the agreement to the contrary. Secondly, and more serious, India continues to hold in captivity the 93.000 prisoners, including 15,000 civilian men, women and children who fell into her hands on the surrender

of Dacca. The Third Geneva Convention of 1949, to which India is a signatory, expressly lays down that prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of active hostilities. This is an unconditional obligation; it is not contingent on the conclusion of a peace agreement. India cannot evade her obligation by such fictions as her claim that the surrender of our forces was to a joint command of India and Bangladesh. Hostilities between India and Pakistan ceased on December 16, 1971 and still the prisoners of war have not been released. Humanitarian considerations apart, nothing creates more bitterness than this blatant violation of international law and morality. Nothing would accelerate the move toward durable peace more than its end.

There is another issue which would need to be resolved equitably if durable peace is to be established in the subcontinent. That is the dispute over the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian attitude has been that there is no dispute concerning that state. This stand is clearly not tenable. Indeed, the Simla Agreement admits the existence of the dispute by providing that the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir "shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side," and by requiring that the representatives of the two governments should meet, preparatory to the next meeting between the Indian Prime Minister and myself, to discuss, among other things, "a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir." A settlement of this dispute has to be found, a settlement acceptable to the people of Kashmir. They have the right of self-determination. This is the position of the United Nations. This was also the position at one time of India herself. And this is the position to which Pakistan is pledged.

Will India in future persuade herself to be less inflexible and more amenable to the counsels of peace and justice? If the answer is, yes I have not the slightest doubt that the peoples of the subcontinent will move on to a new era of good neighborliness and mutual benefit. Released from unnecessary entanglements and the crippling burden of military expenditure, the social and economic progress of the subcontinent would be immense.

We expect India to recognize the realities of the subcontinent, the reality of the need for peace. We in turn have been urged to accept the reality of Bangladesh as a step toward ensuring peace in the region.

We do indeed accept the reality of the aspirations of our brethren in Bangladesh. We wish them well. We were grieved at the appalling tragedy that engulfed us both in 1971 and are resolved to work for the healing of the wounds inflicted on us in a cruel civil war. For all our unfortunate differences, we have lived and struggled together as a single nation for 25 years. Time will show that in spite of the bitterness engendered by the recent past, there are factors that unite us in mutual sympathy: We share a common historical inspiration and culture and we struggled together to achieve independence from both western imperialsism and Hindu domination.

My government is resolved to work for the reestablishment of normal relations with Muslim Bengal. As a first step in that direction, I released Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unconditionally soon after coming into office. Since then I have made a number of offers based on goodwill toward Muslim Bengal. I offered to return to Bangladesh some 30,000 Bengali personnel in the Pakistan Army and some 17,000 Bengali civil servants of different categories to assist Mr. Mujibur Rahman in strengthening his administration. Another expression of this spirit was our offer of a gift of 100,000 tons of rice to relieve food scarcity in Bangladesh. I have repeatedly offered to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in order amicably to resolve differences between Dacca and Islamabad. These and other initiatives have elicited only a negative response from the other side. Mr. Mujibur Rahman continues to demand that Pakistan recognize Bangladesh before he will agree to have any discussion on outstanding issues; he also continues to hold trials of Bengali "collaborators", of whom over 50,000 are in jail; he periodically threatens to try some of the prisoners of war for "war crimes." His rigid posture has made the task of moving toward recognition of Bangladesh more difficult.

Nevertheless, I am confident that we can resolve these difficulties. Pakistan's prisoners of war: have been in Indian custody for over a year, and it should by now have been quite clear to both India and Bangladesh that recognition of Bangladesh cannot be extracted from Pakistan under duress and that the continued detention of Pakistani prisoners of war is no way of normalizing the situation in the subcontinent, from which Bangladesh, perhaps even more than India and Pakistan, stands to gain. For our part, we recognize that Pakistan's approach to the current realities in the subcontinent must be rational and that we must seek a reconciliation with Muslim Bengal. The problems that impede the improvement of relations between Pakistan and Muslim Bengal are by no means intractable.

I have pointed out some of the factors which hinder the establishment of a lasting peace in the subcontinent, a peace which can only come through detente and dialogue, and not through domination. The attempt of any state of the subcontinent to dominate the area will only result in instability. For no such state can support a dominant role with its own resources; inevitably it will be dependent for the maintenance of its role on foreign intervention. This is the reality which the global powers must accept in their relations with the subcontinent. This is the lesson of history, and recent history at that.

It was to a large extent the Soviet Union's involvement in the sub-continent which made possible India's invasion of East Pakistan. India's treaty of friendship with the U.S.S R., concluded in August 1971, preceded her war with Pakistan by only a few months. Whatever motivated the U.S.S.R. to enter into this pact, it certainly gave India the backing both military and psychological, to embark upon her armed aggression. The sophisticated military armaments which India had been receiving from the Soviet Union since 1965 were dramatically augmented in 1971, resulting in an unprecedented disparity between India's and Pakistan's military strength This together with the U.S S R.'s repeated veto in the Security Council, made it impossible to bring about a ceasefire, the withdrawal of Indian forces or a political settlement in East Pakistan.

Throughout the 1950s, the United States pursued a policy of maintaining a just balance in the subcontinent which brought about a large measure of stability in the region. Our alliance with the United States was concluded in this period and the United States made a generous contribution to Pakistan's economic development besides providing military assistance for defense. But while Pakistan's participation in the U S -sponsored pacts increased our defense capability, it also complicated our relations with the Soviet Union, with other Socialist countries and the non-aligned world.

After the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962, the United States also provided massive economic and military assistance to India, with the result that India, confident in her refurbished military machine, threatened Pakistan's security. When she finally attacked Pakistan in 1965, the United States chose not to fulfil solemn pledges of helping in Pakistan's defense. In subsequently stopping military supplies to both nations, the United States did not even exhibit an attitude of genuine neutrality. Its refusal to give arms to either side

clearly worked to India's advantage because while India, in addition to her own military production, continued to receive armaments from the U.S.S.R., Pakistan's only source of military supplies was sealed. The imbalance led to instability in the area culminating in the events of 1971.

Coming to our neighbour China, it has been our experience over the years that she does not harbor any thoughts of disruption in the subcontinent. On the contrary, China has scrupulously adhered to the principle of non-intervention. Pakistan's relations with China are animated by our common struggle against hegemony and our adherence to the principles of an equitable world order. It is of the essence of such principles that they cannot operate against the legitimate interest of any third country. While standing by us in our severest crises in 1965 and 1971, China has nevertheless refrained from involving herself in the subcontinent in a disruptive manner.

The corollary of our assertion that the global powers should follow a balanced policy in relation to the states in the subcontinent is the need for Pakistan to preserve friendly and balanced relations with all world powers insofar as it is compatible with our self-respect and dignity. I am glad to say that there has recently been a marked improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union, especially since my visit to Moscow in March 1972. It is our earnest hope that the estrangement between the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China will not impede the development of this process.

In the case of the United States, even in the days when our relations were at a low ebb we remained conscious of our past association. In the crisis of 1971, the United States took a stand which was squarely based on the principles of the U.N. Charter and massively endorsed by as many as 1(14 member-states in the United Nations. However, within the United States this aroused accusations of an unjustified "tilt" in favour of Pakistan. The accusation is difficult to understand, taking into account the fact that the United States, in spite of its past commitments to come to our assistance, had sealed off supplies of all arms and was merely acting in concord with the unanimous views of the Third World. On February 9, 1972, President Nixon, in a message to the Congress, re-affirmed American concern for the well-being and security of Pakistan. This has lent a new arm to the relations between the United States and Pakistan, and the continuing efforts of both sides augur well for the future We are convinced that, freed from the incubus of Vietnam War, the United States can play a most beneficent role, not only in helping in our economic reconstruction and development but also in

safeguarding our security.

Our friendship with China has for some years been a cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy, based as it is partly on our geographical proximity, partly, on the similarity of our ideals and ambitions in relations to the Third World. China's support of Pakistan at crucial points in our history has evoked the spontaneous appreciation of our people. Our association with China, which was misinterpreted in the past, is now being better understood, with the current detente between China and the United States.

By maintaining friendly relations with all the great powers, on the basis of principles and not expediency, Pakistan hopes to avoid involvement in disputes and struggles between them. It is a part of our new policy that we should refrain from participating in multilateral pacts directed by one bloc of powers against another. Thus we have recently withdrawn from SEATO, in which Pakistan had in any case taken little part over the past few years. Bilateralism, with the greater flexibility it implies, will characterize our relations in the future. In a climate of confrontation betweens two great powers, such a policy, is, no doubt, subjected to severe tests. But in the climate of negotiations and conciliation which was inaugurated in 1972, it is the only policy which responds to the demands of the present historical phase of international affairs. Pakistan welcomes the new trends, not only on the grounds of principle but also because we seek and receive no benefit from the conflict between any two great powers.

IX

Pakistan's destiny is in evitably intertwined with that of the sub-continent. Nevertheless, her geopolitical position is not circumscribed by the subcontinent. There is a 371 mile-long border between Chinese Sinkiang and Pakistan-controlled Kashmir with its ancient silk route, and only Afghanistan's Wakhan corridor, varying in width from seven to 31 miles, divides the Soviet Union and Pakistan along 188 miles. Situated at the head of the Arabian Sea, Pakistan flanks the entrance to the oil-rich Persian Gulf and is therefore of strategic importance to many countries of the Middle East. Pakistan is also strategically placed in relation to the sea-lanes between Europe and the Indian Ocean. Once they regain their former importance with the reopening of the Suez Canal. Moreover, Pakistan provides an overland passage from Europe to the Indian Ocean, an area on which

international attention is being increasingly centered. Throughout history the part of the subcontinent now comprising Pakistan has been of vital importance as a gateway for trade and the passage of peoples.

Pakistan is also a leading member of the Muslim world, which sweeps in a vast arc from the Atlantic through Africa and Middle East to Indonesia, touching the shores of the Pacific. Imperishable affinities born of culture, religion and historical experience bind us to other Muslim nations and underline our community of interest. Together with our neighbours, Iran and Turkey, we have established an organization for Regional 'Cooperation for Development. We have supported the just cause of the Arab world, which in turn stood with us in our hour of trial in 1971. Their subsequent support has strengthened our position immeasurably. Not only has it demonstrated to Pakistan the friendship of her Muslim brethren, but it has displayed to the world the solidarity of the Muslim nations.

Inevitably, our political aspirations, our belief in equality and the rights of the underprivileged will be, expressed in our foreign policy. This is already evident in our relations with Asia. The severance of East Pakistan has not deflected our interest from South-inheritance establishes an Asian solidarity to which Pakistan bears wholehearted allegiance. As demonstration of the new orientation of our foreign policy we have recently recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the government of Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia. With China's emergence into the forefront of world affairs, Japan's surging economy and the restoration of peace in Vietnam, have our people not a right to expect a less-troubled and less-tormented Asia? Whether this comes about depends much on the future attitude of the great powers.

But Asian though we are, our vision is by no means parochial. We support the African struggle for emancipation from colonial rule and domination. We shall play our part in promoting the solidarity of the peoples of the underdeveloped world with whom we share the same problems. At the same time it will be our endeavour to develop positively our relations with North America and Europe. However, as a forward-looking nation, we reject any legacy of the past which has outgrown its usefulness. Hence Pakistan has recently left the Commonwealth, which had long since ceased to have any practical meaning This has become more evidenced since Britain stepped into Europe by joining the European Economic Community. Nevertheless, we maintain close bilateral relations with the United Kingdom

in matters which are of mutual concern to us. Our links with France and the Federal Republic of Germany are also strong, while we are forging new relations with East Europe. This is clear from our recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the signing of a solemn joint declaration with Romania in January of this year at the conclusion of the state visit to Pakistan of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The last year has witnessed a profound change in Pakistan. A new Pakistan has emerged, not only in form but in inspiration and purpose. We have broken with the past, a past which founded itself on the exploitation of man by man. Now we seek to give expression to the aspirations of the common man which for so long have been stifled, aspirations for social justice and a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. Our new vision will be reflected in a foreign policy which, corresponding to a recognition of Pakistan's geopolitical position, will ensure that henceforth Pakistan will play a constructive and meaningful role in world affairs.

PROBLEMS OF ETHICS IN MOHAMMAD IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

M. T. Stepanyants

The tendency to the personal interpretation of the relation between God and man eliminating any ecclesiastic or secular meditation, the tendency which is so much typical for the Reformation explains the attention of the religious reformers to pantheism or mysticism.

Pantheism, which unites God and the world, sometimes identifying them, allows to interpret this unity both ways: as dissolution of nature in God or, just opposite, of God in nature. In the latter case, pantheism contains the elements of naturalistic philosophy. In XVI-XVII centuries these very elements of pantheism made it the most important mythological foundation of the majority of natural-philosophic theories in West Europe (Kampanella, Bruno etc.)

In Islam too mysticism or sufism sometimes served as a form for naturalistic conceptions. Sufism looks at the prayer as a way to personal contact with God. Muslim mystics believe that it is possible by merging in God not only to contact with Him but even to comprehend the Absolute Truth. The achievement of "fana" is considered to be the aim of "tarikat". "Tarikat" stipulates the elimination of human will, the acknowledgement of personal insignificance, the belief in God as the only real being. Iqbal justly considered that mysticism "suppresses personal initiative" and that is why "... the decadents in all ages tried to seek shelter behind self-mysticism and nihilism". "Having lost the vitality to grapple with the temporal"--Iqbal said, — "these prophets of decay apply themselves to the quest of a supposed eternal, and gradually complete the spiritual impoverishment and physical degeneration of their society by evolving a seemingly charming ideal of life which reduces the healthy and powerful to' death".[1]

Being critical to mysticism Iqbal at the same time borrowed quite a lot from sufi philosophers and used a number of sufi terms and notions. The sufi doctrine "wandat-al-wujud" which expresses the pantheistic idea of the

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[1] 1. See S. A. Vahid. *'Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*,' (Lahore, 1964), pp. 101-102.

unity of God and nature was interpreted by M. Iqbal in the spirit different from that one of the traditional Islamic mysticism. Sufism laid the emphasis on the distinction of "zahir" and "batin" (Appearance and Reality) where God is Reality and nature is appearance. Accordingly, this world and the human beings are the appearance of the Reality-God. This point of view logically leads to the total ignoring of world problems as temporal, not important, and to the understanding of the role of man as a passive conductor of God's will. The unity, the melting of individual ego in Cosmic ego, Iqbal understood not as the refusal of man from his own ego but rather as participation in the creative activity of Supreme Being.

In his time M. Iqbal by his own way developed the ideas which had been early expressed by "non-orthodox" sufis like Mansur Hallaj and Abdul Qadir Beidil. The name of Hallaj to whom belongs the famous exclamation: "Anal-Haq", which brought him to death, was a number of times mentioned in Iqbal's poems.

Iqbal even called himself "the second Mansur".

A. H. Karnali who acknowledges "departure" of Iqbal "from the traditions of emonationalism and idealism, which reduce human existence to a phenomenal shape in the development of the absolute", considers that this departure was due to the fact that "the radical elements of Beidil's thought came to full bloom in Iqbal's philosophy of self".[2] In contrast to the traditional sufi symbolics, which compare the relation between God and man as that one of ocean and waves, river and bubbles, Beidil used in his poetry metaphors which radically modified the concept of man. "Just like a pearl, which though hardened in the bosom of a river, is thrown ashore I am thrown out, because I could not be absorbed, melted, or dissolved"[3]. Beidil looked at man as "the pinnacle of creation, the shaper and the maker, the knower and the doer".[4]

Mohammed Iqbal continued this line of thinking and developed it in a comprehensive concept of "khudi", in which man was regarded as a creator, as a partner of God and Maker. In his poem "Mahawarah Ma-Bayen Khuda

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[2] A.H. Kamali, *The Heritage of Islamic Thought in Iqbal*, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan", N. Y. London, 1971, p. 223.

[3] lbid,, p. 221.

[4] Ibid

wa Insan" ("God's Conversation with Man"), man speaks to his maker as an equal:

"You made the night, and I the lamp,

And you the clay and I the cup;

You — desert, mountain-peak, and vale;

I — flower-bed, park and orchard; I

Who grind a mirror out of stone,

Who brew from poison honey-drink".

Individual "ego" strives to come closer to the divine "Ego". But Iqbal understood this striving not as a dissolution on account of man's refusal from own "khudi", but just opposite, as his self-affirmation. "The ultimate of the ego", Iqbal wrote, " is not to see something, but to be something... The end of the ego's quest is not emancipation from the limitations of individuality ; it is, on the other hand, a more precise definition of it".[5]

Approaching to God or to Ideal, was regarded by the poet rather as a vital than an intellectual act. He considered it a vital act which "deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and re-made by continuous action.[6]

M. Iqbal in his concept of "ego" tried by his own way to synthesize the ideas of Muslim and European philosophy. His concept of "ego" has much in common with some of the ideas of Fichte. Iqbal was particularly attracted by Fichte's immanent philosophy regarding object and subject in their indissolubility. Like Fichte, the Muslim poet-philosopher affirmed the unity of object and subject, being and thought, non-ego and ego. "It is possible to take thought not as a principle which organizes and integrates its material from the outside, but as a potency which is formative of the very being of its, material. Thus regarded, thought or idea is not alien to the original nature of

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5. M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 198.

6 Ibid,, p. 198.

things; it is their ultimate ground and constitutes the very essence of the being."[7] The real world of "non-ego" is the expression of the creative activity of "ego". Thus the world of objects is not something different from our "self", it is some part of us. "The world is nothing but the manifestation of ours,"—said Iqbal, —"for without us there would be no scenes of lights and sound".[8]

Iqbal believed that affirming by this way the unity of object and subject, he solved the problem of free will and found the golden middle way between absolute determinism and voluntarism. But it seems he has failed to solve the problem. One of the weakest points of this dualistic system is: how "non-ego" appears out of "ego". In Fichte's view the theoretical reason cannot give the answer to this question. This can be done only by practical or moral reason, according to which this "creation" is an act of free will. M. Iqbal also considered that ordinary thought cannot appreciate this unity, the essence of which is the creative activity of self.

In "Asrar-i Khudi" Iqbal says:

"It [the Self] makes from itself the forms of others,

…….

…….

Subject, object, means and causes--

All these are forms which it assumes for the purpose of action."[9]

In Iqbal's view "In great action alone the self of man becomes united with God without losing its own identity and transcends the limits of space and time. Action is the highest form of contemplation."[10]

This identification of contemplation with creation reminds Henri Bergson's theses that "the act of cognition coincides with the act which creates reality" and that "the difference between *who* cognizes and *what* is cognized disappears". In his lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious

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[7] Ibid,, p, 31.

[8] M. Iqbal, *The Secrets of the Self*, (Lahore, 1961); p. 16.

[9] Ref. B. A. Dar, Inspiration from the West, in "*Iqbal, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*", p. 193.

[10] lbid., p 193.

Thought in Islam, M. Iqbal a number of times referred to Bergson's ideas, particularly while interpreting intuition as the highest form of intellect and also when considering the problem of time and space. However, the Muslim poet-philosopher did not accept a number of Bergson's notions, which contradicted the spirit and social trend of his own world outlook. Being a mouthpiece of anti-colonial social forces of his society M. Iqbal propagated creative activity and struggle. Bergson's ideas about aimless wave impulses, which are chaotic and non-regulated, lead to the conclusion that it was useless to oppose this play of blind forces. The pessimism of the social conclusions out of Bergson's philosophical premises could not be accepted by Iqbal. Opposing Bergson the Muslim philosopher stated: "Reality is not blind vital impulse wholly unilluminated by idea. Its nature is through and through teleological".[11]

M. Iqbal realized vulnerability of his position as affirmation of "teleological" character of nature leads to negation of free will. "The world"—Iqbal recognized,—"regarded as a process of realizing a pre-ordained goal is not a world of free, responsible agents. It is only a stage on which puppets are made to move by a kind of pull from behind".[12]

Thus Iqbal did not want to accept voluntarism which liberates from responsibility, leads to pessimism and desires to step away from participation in this life. He also rejected supernaturalistic determinism of orthodox Muslim philosophy which did not recognize free will. Iqbal made an attempt to solve the antinomy of freedom and necessity, God's will and man's free will. Development of the world, the acts of men are not aimless, they are submitted to the teleological purpose. But this purpose is not understood statically, as a predeterminated plan of development. "The notion of purpose cannot be understood except in reference to the future". [13] There is no rigid aim system, in every period of life, people mould and develop themselves according to the spirit of new ideals. Teleological purpose is understood by Iqbal in the sense that "... there is no far-off distant goal towards which we are moving, there is a progressive formation of fresh ends, purposes, and ideal scales of value as the process of life grows and expands".[14]

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[11] M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 53.
[12] Ibid., p. 54.
[13] Ibid., p. 53.
[14] Ibid., p. 54.

The Muslim reformer recognized that if "ego" selfdevelops, it is able to will and act, then freedom and omnipotence of God are doubtful. How man's free will can be reconciled with God's omnipotence? In Iqbal's view God Himself limits His power. This limitation "is born out of His own creative freedom whereby He has chosen finite egos to be participators of His life, power, and freedom"[15]. By giving freedom to man God takes risk, for "the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good".[16] God takes this risk because He believes in man and man is to justify this faith.

Iqbal followed the sufi teaching on good and evil. The Quran says, "Whatever good visits thee, it is of God ; whatever evil visits thee is of thyself" (4:81). In contradiction to this, the medieval sufists (Abdul Karim al-Jilli and others) said that both the good and the evil of the universe came from God. In their opinion, evil was a necessary objective condition for the realisation of good. Just as the bird must overcome the resistance of the air to fly, so man can only be good by overcoming evil, and, therefore, he has no right to complain about the existence of the latter.

In adopting this sufist principle, Iqbal modified it somewhat. The pessimism and passivity of the medieval mystics had no place in the philosophy of one who spoke for the middle class at a time when it was rousing itself to political action. His affinities were much more with the romanticism and dynamism of 17th and 18th-century European philosophy. Himself a poet, his understanding of Western philosophical thought was drawn mostly from literature and poetry. We would even say that his dialectical ideas on good and evil were to a great extent inspired by the works of Goethe and Milton.

Iqbal explained his ideas by interpreting the Biblical legend of man's fall from grace and expulsion from the Garden of Eden (cf. the Quran, 7, 10-24) as a manifestation of "free choice", a view entirely out of keeping with religious tradition. "Man's first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice," he said.[17] Furthermore, if good was the result of free choice, one might say that evil created good. Iqbal's Iblis-Satan-like Goethe's Mephistopheles was part of' the eternal force that always desired evil but

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[15] Ibid., p. 80.

[16] Ibid., p. 85.

[17] M. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 85.

worked only good. Without it life would have no dynamism, and deathly passiveness would triumph in the universe. The figure of Satan in one of his poems, like in Milton's Paradise Lost, is more attractive than that of God, because it symbolises the spirit of creativity. Addressing the Lord, Iblis says:

Thou hast created the starry spheres: I cause them to move

I am the life of all in the World, the life latent in everything.

Thou givest life to the body: I infuse warmth into life.

Thou showest the way to peaceful rest: I lead towards restless strife !

The man of earthly origin, foolish and short-sighted,

Is born in Thy lap, but attaineth maturity in mine.[18]

The revolutionary spirit of Iqbal's conception suited the mood of the radical intelligentsia at that time of active struggle against colonialism. Its admission of the objective character of evil impressed the intellectuals. It enabled them to account for all social troubles not by any subjective causes, but by the real live evil, which was colonialism and feudalism.

In insisting on such a close relation between the two ethical categories, even on their mutual interchangeability, Iqbal was stressing the necessity and propriety of taking action against the established social order, which had degenerated into an evil. Disobedience, protest, even violence, all acts condemned by the prevailing morality, were held up as virtues to those engaged in the anti-colonial struggle.

According to Iqbal, there are three stages in the development of the ego. These three stages remind the. sufi "tarikat" as well as Nietzsche's ideas of the development of supermn. However, they are not the same. Opposite to sufis Iqbal saw the purpose of the development of ego not in "fana"--self negation, but in self-affirmation, in transformation into the perfect man — "Insan-i kamil", who fulfils the divine will, who is a divine vicegerent. Iqbal's views differ from Nietzsche. For the latter, the superman is a man who does not follow any moral norms. For Iqbal, "the perfect man" is a strong

[18] S. A Vahid, *Iqbal, His Art and Thought*, p. 112.

personality, who uses his will and energy not for his own desire for power, but for the sake of fulfilment of the divine will. "Insan-i kamil" is supposed to be able to overcome the vices of the society and to act according to the moral norms ordered by God.

Igbal undoubtedly felt the influence of Nietzsche, but was not one of his followers. His interest in the German philosopher sprang from a desire to create a Muslim philosophy of action that would suit the aims of the national-liberation movement. He was attracted by Nietzsche's ideal of a superman, a man of will, capable of heroic living. He was impressed with his rejection of Christian asceticism, which condemns man to slavish passivity, for he himself strongly denounced the ascetism preached by the Muslim mystics. He borrowed some of Nietzsche's imagery, for instance the allusions to diamond and coal as symbols of firmness and lack of will.

But while he admired the vision and literary gifts of the German philosopher, Iqbal rejected the basic premises of his philosophy. In his opinion, despite his "vision of the divine", thanks to which he might have become a prophet, Nietzsche never became one because, firstly, he relied entirely on his own faculties without seeking "external guidance in his spiritual life", and, secondly, because he entrusted the realisation of his philosophical principles only to the elite, whom he contrasted to the common "herd". This atheism and cynical aristocratism made Nietzscheism unacceptable to Iqbal, whose philosophy was inspired by belief in an indivisible bond between man and God, man and society.

"WHO IS" GHALIB

Fact and Fiction in some of Ghālib's Autobiographical Statements

M. Hadi Hussain

[Author's Note: This — from an unpublished book on Ghālib — is mainly an attempt at explaining in terms of a poet's self-image some mythical-seeming statements made by Ghalib about his ancestry, early youth and poetic apprenticeship.]

One of Ghāib's favourite topics was his genealogy, which he traced to ancient kings. To begin with, here is a seemingly playful poetic argument, the major premise of which is a matter-of-fact claim that he is descended from Pushang and Afrā siyāb and, through them, from Jamshed, said to have been the inventor of wine in Iran:-

"I am a scion, O sāqī, of Pushang and Afrāsiyāb.

So you know Jamshed's kingdom is my family estate.

Come give me wine, which is part of my royal heritage:

And as for Heaven, O let that legacy of Adam wait."

In the following quatrain he names Afrāsiyāb's grandfather,

Zādsham, as his progenitor:-

"O Ghālib, I belong to Zādsham's line,

And so my mind is as keen as a sword.

No more a warrior, I am now a bard;

My forebear's broken arrow is my pen."

"1 am of Turkish origin," he asserts more baldly in a letter to an acquaintance, Maulawi Sirāj al-Din, "and my ancestry goes back to Afrāsiyāb and Pushang." Now, these illustrious men arc not authentic historical figures,

but epic heroes belonging to the borderland between Iranian mythology and prehistory. But Ghālib did not know this, as we do today. The irreverent hand of research had not yet divested these venerable figures of the cloak of historical make-believe in which so-called historical writings like Mirzā Jalāl al-Din's "Nāma-i-Khusrawān", deriving their materials from poetry and folklore, had clothed them; and Ghālib had no reason to be ahead of his time in historical knowledge or curiosity.

The obvious explanation is that he had taken his ancestry on ' from his elders as a family tradition. Nor was there anything naive about his having done so. Who, especially if he was a poet, would not be happy to learn that his remote ancestor was Joshed, the. inventor and owner of the world-reflecting wine-cup which is one f the archetypal symbols of Persian and Urdu poetry, signifying as all-comprehending intellect ? And, happy in this knowledge, who would not be proud to share it with the world ? Modesty in speaking of one's origins was not a virtue practised in Ghālib's society; and is Ghālib's case, as we shall see by and by, there were great strains upon it.

No matter who were Ghālib's ancestors in hoary antiquity, their successors in historical times gain in credibility what they lose in romantic glamour. "My forefathers," continues Ghālib in the letter from which we have quoted above, "because of blood relationship with the Saljuqīs carried aloft the standard of rulership and military leadership during their time. When the fortunes of their patrons declined, some of them took to the highway and others to agriculture. My branch of the family settled at Samarqand in Tūrān."

From here on the story has been better told in a biographical note Ghālib furnished about himself to an Englishman named Rattigan, who was compiling a tazkira (an anthology with biographical notes) of, contemporary poets writing in Persian.

"Asad-Allah Khān, alias Mirzā Naushah", so runs the note, to' begin at the beginning, "nom de plume Ghālib, Seljuqī Turk, descendant of Sultān Barkiaruk. His grandfather, (Qūqān Beg Khān, came to Delhi from Samarqand during the reign of Shāh ʻĀlam and entered the Emperor's service as a commander of fifty horse with a personal kettle-drum and standard. The pargana of Phasu, which has now been granted by the government to the Begum of Sumro, was granted to his as his personal estate. The said Asad-Allah Khān's father, ʻAbd-Allah Beg Khān, left his estate in Delhi and migrated to Akbarabad, whets Asad-Allah Khān was born. ʻAbd-Allah Beg

Khān then took service with Rāo Raja Bakhtāwar Singh of Alwar and was killed there bravely fighting in a battle, when Asad-Allah Khan was only five or six years old. Asad-Allah Khān's paternal uncle, Nasr-Allah Beg Khān, was at that time the subadar of Akbarabad under the Marhattas. When, in 1803, General Lake attacked Akbarabad, Nasr-Allah Khān voluntarily surrendred the city to him. As a reward for this, the General appointd him a brigadier over 400 horse on a salary of Rs. 1700. Later, when Nasr-Allah Khan wrested the parganas of Sonk and Sonra from Holkar's cavalry, the General granted the parganas to him in perpetuity. But Nasr-Allah Khān was killed by a fall from the back of an elephant ten months later. His estate was resumed by the government and, in lieu thereof, an annual pension was awarded to his heirs, out of which Asad-Allah Khān gets Rs. 750 a year."

Before ʻAbd-Allah Beg joined the service of the Rāja of Alwar, he tried his luck elsewhere. "In the chaos that followed the death of my grandfather," writes Ghālib in a letter to Munshi Habib-Allah Zakā, "my father lost his Phasu estate and went to Lucknow, where he entered the service of Nawāb Āsaf al-Daula. After some time he proceeded to Hyderabad, where he served Nawāb Nizām ʻAli Khān as a commander of 300 horse for several years. He lost his job as the result of a domestic quarrel and betook himself to Alwar in a distracted state of mind."

Dogged as ʻAbd-Allah Beg's career was by misadventures, he was fortunate enough to marry into a leading family of Agra (the other name of Akbarabad). His father-in-law, Commandant Ghulām Husain Khan, was a military officer under the British and a fairly big land-owner; and his house was a haven of carefree rest for ʻAbd-Allah Beg during the intervals between his wanderings. It was there that Ghālib was born, on 27 December, 1797, and spent his childhood and early youth. He had happy memories of the time he spent under his maternal grandfather's roof.

"We used to play chess and chat, often till after midnight," he writes to Munshi Shiv Narā'in, Proprietor of the Mufidi-Khalā'iq Press, speaking of his intimacy with Shiv Narā'in's grandfather, Munshi Bansidhar. "We were more or less the same age. He used to visit me quite frequently, because his house was not very far from ours, there being between our two houses only the house of the singing-woman Machhia and two *katras* (lanes) belonging to us. Our main *haweli* (mansion) was the one which has now been bought by Seth Lakhmi Chand. My sitting-room was on top of the twelve-gate stone balcony that formed its entrance (At three removes from it) there was a katra known

as the Kashmiranwalla *katra*. From the roof of one of the houses in that *katra* I used to fly kites and have kite matches with Raja Balwān Singh."

These innocent pleasures, we may be sure, were not the only ones that Ghālib enjoyed as a youthful member of the decadent aristocracy of Agra at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In an autobiographical passage in his Mihri-Nīmrūz he figuratively hints at less venial forms of self-indulgence. He does not name them; but we can well guess that they included gambling and drinking, which were his besetting sins in later life. There are indications even of an affair of the heart with a Domni (a low-caste singing woman). Ghālib refers to his gay youth in different moods: with a light-hearted self-satire or self-caricature, with a nostalgia for good old days gone never to come back, with a gnawing remorse for precious time wasted, with penitence for grave sins committed and, here and there, with something akin to objective self-criticism. The ambivalence is particularly noticeable in regard to his love affair.

"Listen, my friend," he writes in a letter of condolence to Mirzā Ḥātim ʻAlī Mihr on the death of his mistress Chunnā Jān, "there are three outstanding men in three allied fields — Firdausī among poets, Ḥasan of Basra among mystics and Majnun among lovers. It is the height of achievement for a poet to become a second Firdausī, for a mystic to become a second Ḥasan of Basra and for a lover to become a second Majnūn. Lailā died before Majnūn's eyes. So did your beloved before yours. In fact, you excel Majnun in that, while Lail' died at her father's house, your beloved died at yours. I say, Mughuls are terrible people: they kill anyone whom they love. Being a Mughul, I too have killed one woman. May God grant salvation to both of our sweethearts and may He also have mercy on us, recipients of the wound of separation from them. My affair happened forty or forty-two years ago. I am no longer in that field now and have been reduced to almost a tyro in the art."

"My dear Mīrzā," he says in another letter to Ḥātim ʻAli on the same subject, "I don't like this kind of thing. I am 65 years old. For 55 years I was an epicure at large in the world of pleasure. In my early youth a great spiritual mentor counselled me to eschew piety and renunciation and have my fill of sin and self-indulgence. ʻEat, drink and be merry,' he said to me, ʻbut be like a fly that sits on sugar candy for a moment and then flies away, and not like a bee sedulously collecting honey.' I have acted upon this wise counsel. Only he should cry over another person's death who is never going to die himself.

What's all this mourning and wailing for? You should be thankful for your deliverance rather than cry over it. But if you are so fond of being in chains, then choose a Munnā Jān in place of your Chunnā Jān, I for one shudder to think of paradise and the prospect (in the event of my salvation) of a palace with a single houri in it, with whom I should have to spend the whole of eternity. Life everlasting with a single woman, houri or no houri, would be hell."

The levity of these letters--probably assumed in order to set to Ḥatim 'Ali an example of how to make light of one's sorrows--contrasts strongly with the solemn elegiac note struck in the following *ghazal*, which, if it was addressed to any real creature of flesh and blood, must have been addressed to the Domni, Ghālib's only known love .-

"If you had not the strength to bear the shock of It,

Why did you choose to share my misery, alas?

For you to be my friend was being your own foe.

Why did you think of thus befriending me, alas ?

What matter if you pledged to me a life-long troth?

For life does not endure eternally, alas!

A poison to me is the climate of this life;

For it did not treat you congenially, alas!

What has become of beauty's riotous showers of flowers?

Now tulips grow on your grave silently, alas !

To guard our secret you took shelter underground;

That was the height of lovers' secrecy, alas !

The honour of love's troth has been reduced to dust;

Gone from the world is all fidelity, alas !

O how is one to spend the long, dark rainy nights

Without the beads of the stars' rosary, alas!

No message for my ears, no beauty for my eyes

To see: for one heart all this agony, alas!

My love had not grown into a mad passion yet:

I had not had my fill of calumny, alas !"

What Ghālib regrets in these verses is that his love remained a timid, clandestine affair instead of growing into a grand passion and a famous story like the love of Mājnūn, the Arab madman who is the ideal lover in Persian and Urdu poetry. It has been suggested by some of Ghālib's biographers, probably from an anxiety to save his fair name as a man of noble birth from being smirched, that the word "Domni" used by Ghālib in this context was only a mask to hide the identity of his beloved, who was actually a lady belonging to a higher order of society. This well-meaning suggestion is falsified by Ghālib's speaking of her along with Ḥātim 'Ali's mistress Chunna Jan, who, it is clear from her name, was a member of the demi-monde. Ghālib's mistress, we are forced to conclude, was at best a singing-woman of a class slightly higher than a Domni. There is also some doubt as to whether the affairs belonged to Ghālib's early years at Agra or to his maturer years in Delhi, where, as we shall presently see, he went to live a few years after his marriage. No matter who his mistress was, and at what period she came into his life, let us bless her memory for making Ghālib experience that heartache without which no genuine love poetry or, for that matter, no genuine poetry, was ever written. Every now and again she lifts a corner of the veil of conventional diction that Ghālib was compelled to use in speaking of matters of love, quietly reassuring us that she actually existed in the world of flesh and blood before she was transported to the realm of his imagination to inspire him constantly as a bitter-sweet memory. The role of the beloved of the *ghazal*--that enigmatic being, to be spoken of and spoken to in the masculine gender, but essentially a woman in character and habits, a personified abstraction, but with all the quirks and foibles of an individual human being seems to suit her mysterious, undefined identity in a peculiar

manner.

Thus, in the matter of actual experience of love — love for a woman — Ghālib was luckier than most Persian and Urdu poets, who, because of the restrictive conventions of their society, had to be content with imaginary experiences and other poor substitutes for the genuine thing. His married life did not afford him anything like it. He was married on 9 August, 1810, at the absurdly early age of 13 years to a girl two years his junior —Umrāo Begum, daughter of Ilāhī Bakhsh Khān Ma'rūf, younger brother of Nawāb Ahmad Bakhsh Khān, ruling chief of Loharu. This marriage, which brought Ghālib a degree of social elevation, was, as marriages go, quite successful in that husband and wife lived their separate lives together under the same roof to the bitter end. It, however, was not a happy marriage. All Ghālib's references to it show that clearly and unmistakably.

"Listen," he says allegorically in a letter to Nawāb Amin al-Din Khān, "there are two worlds, that of spirit and that of matter. The ruler of both is He who asks 'Who is the Lord of Time?' and then Himself answers 'The One and Almighty God.' Although the general practice is that those who have committed sins in the material world are punished in the spiritual, yet it sometimes happens that sinners of the spiritual world are sent to the material world for punishment. Thus, I was arrested and sent to this world for trial on 8 Rajab, 1212 A. H. I remained in the lock-up for 13 years, after which on 17 Rajab 1225 A. H. a sentence of life imprisonment was pessed on me. A shackle on my foot, I was imprisoned in Delhi, with writing prose and verse assigned as my labour. I escaped from prison years later and wandered in the eastern regions. At last I was rearrested in Calcutta and brought back to Delhi. To prevent my escaping again two more shackles were put on my feet." The first shackle in this passage stands for Ghālib's wife and the additional two stand for two nephews of his wife's whom he had adopted, having no surviving children of his own.

"I am sorry for Umrāo Singh, but at the same time I envy him," he writes to Munshi Hargopāl Tafta, referring to news given by him of the death of his second wife some years after the death of his first. "There are some lucky people whose fetters are removed twice; but here am I with a halter round my neck for the last 51 years. The halter neither snaps nor strangles me."

Here is a quatrain in a satirical vein on this subject:-

"O pilgrim, going Ka'baward,

I know A virtuous impulse is impelling you.
But you are running as if for dear life.
Are you fleeing a wife who is a shrew?"
Here is another:-

"How unwise is the man who takes a wife!

For he can never get relief from grief.

No woman rules God's house, the world.

That is the secret of His might, in brief."

"On one occasion," writes Ghālib's greatest biographer, Ḥāli, "the Mirzā (Ghālib) wanted to change his house. He went and inspected a house. He liked the male portion, but could not have a look at the female one. So he sent his wife to look at it. When she returned, he asked her opinion. She said that the house was reported to be haunted by evil spirits. 'What evil spirit in the world,' exclaimed Ghālib, 'dare compete with you, my dear?"

Some of Ghālib's biographers, chief among them Ḥālī, have tried to explain away these utterances of his as involuntary outflowings of an exuberant humour. But so interpreted, they represent Ghālib as a cracker of poor jokes, a sort of enfant terrible who allowed his impish high jinks to run away with his good taste and good manners. It is not doing any service to Ghālib, whether as a man or as a poet, to suggest that, though quite happily married, he indulged in wisecracks at the expense of marriage as an institution and of his own marriage in particular. That is attributing to him either flippancy or insincerity to his own experience. It is only fair to him to accept the obvious fact that he was not happily married. At the same time, it is only fair to Umrāo Begum to admit that he could never be happily married, no matter who was his wife; for he was not cut out for the life of a married man. Living poetry all the time, so to speak — thinking it, composing it, reciting it, listening to it recited, reading it, writing about it, discussing it, correcting it for others—with intervals of drinking to prime himself, and bouts of gambling to refresh himself, for it: such, in brief, was the pattern of his daily life. Little room as there was in this routine for the duties of a husband and house-holder, it must be said to Ghālib's credit that he performed them to the best of his ability; but they were never a pleasure to

him. His quips about married life, in both good and ill humour, were thus a form of mental escape from a vexatious predicament. To the credit of Umrāo Begum, it must be acknowledged that she was as good a wife as Ghālib could wish for or deserve. Brought up, as girls of the Muslim nobility in those days were, to a strict regimen of religious and domestic duties, she was all that a normal man of her class — a good Muslim and a good householder could expect his wife to be. But Ghālib was not that kind of man. Nevertheless, she dutifully kept house for him and attended to his personal needs and comforts. In the latter task, however, she had to stop short of compromising her religious principles and sentiments. Not only were Ghālib's alcoholic drinks looked after and served by his personal servant in the *dīwānkhāna* (i. e. the part of the house used exclusively by the menfolk as a sitting-room *cum* study), where he used to take most of his meals; but, because of her disapproval of his drinking, his eating and drinking untensils were kept separate from those of the rest of the family. This was orthodoxy carried to the point of treating Ghālib as a pariah in his own house, and must have been one of the major irritants that evoked ill-humoured comments from him on married life. As for Ghālib's innuendoes about her being a shrew, there was presumably some justification for them from his point of view; for she could not have helped nagging him. Ghālib never did a day's work to earn a living, unless we can give that name to his spasmodic attempts at winning rewards from the Mughul king or ruling chiefs by writing panegyrics on them — mostly half-hearted because of his being too proud to stoop to the kind of fulsome flattery that conventionally went into that genre of verse or to his lifelong struggle to obtain what he considered his rightful pension in lieu of his uncle's resumed estates. A typical member of a decadent aristocracy, living on unearned incomes in the shape of hereditary grants and pensions, the residue of ancestral fortunes, not always well-acquired, Ghālib never seems to have thought of exploring some means of earning a living. There was one excellent opportunity he got of becoming a respectable salaried servant of the government. That was when, in 1842, he was invited by the Secretary to the Government of India to an interview for the post of Professor of Persian at the Delhi College. But his diabolic aristocratic pride made him decline the post simply because the Secretary had not come out to the porch of his house to receive him, as he had expected he would do to show due honour to a *r'ais*, — (grandee). "I was seeking government service," he told the Secretary when the latter came out

against his original intention in answer to a complaining message sent to him by Ghālib through a peon, "to enhance, and not to diminish, the respect enjoyed by me as a member of the aristocracy." With this antiquated concept of socio-economic values, with an uncertain and at best inadequate income from his pension and with expensive personal habits, Ghālib could not expect his wife never to reproach him. But the imperious egocentricity of genius is a law unto itself and knows no other laws, least of all those that impose domestic obligations.

Another figure in Ghālib's life, no less important than those we have so far dealt with, and no less mysterious either, is a person known as Mullā ʻAbd al-Samad. His importance lies in this that Ghālib claimed to have sat at his feet for two years, during which, as he used to declare proudly and with ample justification, he learned more Persian than any other Indian, whether among his contemporaries or belonging to a generation or two earlier than his, knew. ʻAbd al-Ṣamad's mysteriousness lies in this that there still rages a controversy as to whether he ever actually existed. There are innumerable statements about Mullā ʻAbd al-Ṣamad in Ghālib's writings. The statements contain far fewer facts about him than compliments, often in rhetorical language, to his ancestry, scholarship and piety.

Here is Ghālib's fullest single description of Mullā ʻAbd al-Ṣamad contained in a letter he wrote to Maulawi Ḍiā' al-Din Ḍiā' of Delhi, which was published in the January 1934 issue of The Hindustani, the quarterly organ of the United Provinces Hindustani Academy."During my early schooling," he writes, "I read up to the Sharḥ .Mr at-u-Amil, after which I became absorbed, first in play and then in self-indulgence and pleasure-seeking. I had a natural bent for the Persian language and for poetry. As luck would have it, a man, who was descended from Sāsān the Fifth and who, along with his other accomplishments, was the equal of the late Maulawī Faḍl al-Haq in the knowledge of logic and philosophy, besides being a devout and pious Muslim, arrived in my city. From him I learned the finer points of pure Persian and the subtleties of Persian mixed with Arabic. This was the acid test of the gold in me. With my inborn aptitude for the Persian language, the tutelage of a teacher who was, without exaggeration, the Jāmāsp and Buzurjmihr of the age, instilled into me the inwardness of that language."

Elsewhere Ghālib states the following further facts about 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Originally a Zoroastrian named Hurmuzd, he was a high-ranking

nobleman of Yazd in Iran. After acquiring Arabic scholarship from eminent teachers in Arabia and Baghdad for fifty years, he had embraced Islam and, changing his name to ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, had come to India. He stayed for two years at Ghālib's maternal grandfather's house at Agra (including, probably, a stay with Ghālib in Delhi) and then left India for good. He corresponded with Ghālib from abroad and in one of his letters wrote to him: "So dear are you to me that, in spite of my detachment from the world, I remember you every now and again."

As Ḥālī had an opportunity of learning the facts at first hand from Ghālib himself, let us hear him on the subject. "Although the Mirzā has now and then been heard saying", writes Ḥālī, "that he was nobody's pupil but God's and that ‘Abd al-Samad was merely a fictitious figure, invented by him because people used to taunt him with being self-educated ; yet there is no doubt that there actually was a man named ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, who was of Pārsī origin, and that the Mīrzā learned some Persian from him. Thus, the Mīrza has frequently in his writings spoken proudly of having been ‘Abd al-Ṣamad's pupil and has used of him the word *Temsār*, which is a title of great honour among the Pārsīs. Nevertheless, as the Mīrzā has clarified in some of his writings, he was only 14 years old when ‘Abd al-Ṣamad arrived at his house, and the latter stayed with him for only two years. Thus, when we consider at what a tender age and for what a short period the Mirzā enjoyed his company, it seems to make little difference whether or not ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ever existed and whether or not he taught the Mīrzā. Therefore the Mīrzā was not wrong in saying that he was not indebted to the tutelage of anybody except God. He has beautifully expressed the idea of his direct indebtedness to God in the following lines:

‘Whatever is there in the Primal Source

is all my property.

The flower not yet culled from its branch is in

My lap as owned by me.'

"He has made the same point more beautifully in another place:

I have excelled the ancients in deriving from the Source,

Because I came to it when it was fuller than before.

I saw the light of day in twelve hundred and twelve A.H.,

Khusrau and Sa'adī in six-fifty, that is, days of yore.'

"Mullā ʻAbd al-Samad, besides knowing Persian as his mother-tongue and the language of his community's religion, was, as Ghālib writes, a great scholar of Arabic. Although the Mīrzā enjoyed his company for a very brief period, yet for a genius like him to find in his childhood an affectionate teacher of this kind, who was a master of two languages, was one of those fortunate circumstances which are of rare occurrence."

It is obvious that Ḥālī has not squarely faced the contradiction between Ghālib's written statements and his oral admission. As a matter of fact, in trying to gloss over it he has involved himself in an equally serious contradiction: he both emphasises and minimises the importance of 'Abd al-Ṣamad from the point of view of Ghālib's Persian scholarship. Ṣālī's acceptance of the literal truth of Ghālib's written statements about ʻAbd al-Samad, it would seem, proceeded more from his veneration for Ghālib than from any independent inquiry, of which, it is significant, he has discreetly omitted any mention. What is still more significant is that no corroboration of them is available from any source. Even such references to ʻAbd al-Ṣamad as are found in con-temporary writings seem to assume his existence on Ghālib's authority. I At any event, nobody ever seems to have. met him.

Perhaps the best thing we for our part can do about ʻAbd al-Samad is to accept him as the imaginative analogue of the legendary heroes whom Ghālib hailed as his remote ancestors. The latter were necessary for his pride of birth, the former for his pride in his linguistic attainments. The only difference was that he had to invent the former, whereas he found the latter ready to hand in his family traditions. Bali casually mentions that towards the end of his life Ghalib started writing a fable or allegory, which, however, he never completed. Who . knows if 'Abd al-Ṣamad was going to be its hero? In a way 'Abd al-Ṣamad is Ghālib himself, his alter ego, his persona, with some easily recognizable points of resemblance, such as descent from a king of hoary antiquity, birth in a noble family, and interest in mysticism. If 'Abd al-Ṣamad with his profound knowledge of logic and philosophy makes up for a, deficiency which Ghālib was, without much justification, conscious of in

himself, Ghālib reciprocates this by being an exponent of the mysteries of reality, whereas 'Abd al-Ṣamad was only a knower of them. Considered as Ghālib's double, 'Abd al-Ṣamad acquires an importance even greater than that which a literal acceptance of Ghālib's accounts of him gives him or that with which Ghālib's literal-minded biographers have been able to invest him.* Symbolically, he is Ghālib's intellect, the faculty with whose help he acquired the knowledge necessary for his art.

Ghālib's other teacher, Maulawi Muḥmmad Mu'aẓẓam, was, unlike Mullā 'Abd al-Ṣamad, an actual historical figure, one of the leading scholars of Agra; but even to him Ghālib cannot conceivably have owed much of a debt; for he attended the MauIawī's lessons hardly for a year or two when he was only 12 or 13 years old.

Ghālib's poetry, especially so far as his Persian qaṣīdas and *mathnawīs* are concerned, is richly laden with allusions, imagery, figures of speech and technical terms drawn from a wide range of learning, such as was current in his society, especially logic, philosophy, astronomy and medicine. He has a copious Arabic and Persian vocabulary and displays complete mastery over Persian, and a fair working knowledge of Arabic grammar. He has also demonstrated prosodic skill of a high order by composing in difficult and rarely used metres, beyond the competence of the common run of poets. How did he acquire all this learning and skill? It was the fashion in his day for writers, and especially poets, to attach themselves to some eminent scholar or poet as his pupils, and it used to be a matter of pride for them to attribute their attainments to their teachers: the more eminent the teacher, the greater used to be the pupils' pride. Ghālib had no such teacher, and was in the fullest sense of the term self-educated. This was something his contemporaries could not understand. His scholarship would always remain suspect in their eyes; in fact, he was often taunted with being untutored. So, to counter this, he not only invented Mulla ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, but talked of his

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* Having reached these conclusions independently, although in a rather vague manner, I have been encouraged to set them forth by the confirmation they receive from an essay on 'Abd al-Ṣamad by Qadi 'Abd al-Wadud (Ahwal-i-Ghalib by Dr, Mukhtar al-Din Ahmed, Maktaba-i-Jami'a, Delhi, 1953), the most thorough piece of research so far published on the subject. — Author.

debt to Maulawī Muhammad Mu'aẓẓam, although he can have owed the latter practically nothing beyond an elementary knowledge of Persian. Driven into a corner, however, he would hurl at his critics the proud and magnificent truth that he was indebted to nobody but God, that is to say, the divine spark in him. Remarkable as was his attainment to a high level of learning unaided by a teacher, what was still more remarkable was that he never owned any book and had seldom by his side any but a few borrowed, according to need, from a library run by a local bookseller or from friends. He was, however, an avid reader and whatever he read he not only retained in his memory, but converted into material ready to be put to use in his art. It was thus the alchemy of the poetic gift, turning everything that came its way to gold, and neither formal schooling nor constant consultation of books that was the source of the wealth of learning which much of his poetry displays with an effortless brilliance. The virtuoso of poetry took the dilettante of learning in hand and raised him to the eminence of a genuine scholar and philosopher.

As regards Ghālib's apprenticeship in poetry, it has been suggested by some of his biographers that he served it for some time under Naẓīr of Akbarabad. No greater compliment could have been paid to that writer of what for want of a better name can only be called "popular poetry"-- poetry having for its themes the life and thoughts and feelings of the common people, peasants, artisans, woodcutters, jugglers and tramps, and describing them in popular language. Ghalib's fastidious Muse could never have relished such coarse fare. Indeed, no two poets could be more unlike each other. The untmost that is conceivably possible is that Ghālib took some advice on the elementary technique of versification from Naẓīr, which he may well have done; for Naẓir, no matter what the themes and style of his poetry, was no mean craftsman and was, in any case, the most prominent poet then living at Agra.

There were, however, two men who, it seems, did influence Ghālib's poetic development. These were his father-in-law, Nawāb Ilāhī Bākhsh Din Ma'ruf, and his friend, Maulawi Faḍl-i-Ḥaq of Khairābād. They diverted him from a path that led to a quicksand. Ambitious from the very first, he had chosen for his model the most difficult of Persian poets, namely. Mirzā 'Abd al-Qādir Bedil, whose unfamiliar diction, involved syntax, far-fetched conceits and complexity of meaning probably intrigued him as a useful foil to the lack of formal learning he was conscious of in himself. But imitation of Bedil in Urdu was doomed to be a self-defeating exercise. Bedil's poetry was

the crowning achievement of an already existing school of Persian poetry, and his greatness consisted essentially in exhausting the possibilities of the tradition to which he was heir. Neither Urdu nor the traditions of Urdu poetry, on the other hand, provided a soil favourable to verses written in Bedil's style. What was, therefore, originality, a rich ambiguity and metaphysical subtlety in Bedil became oddity, obscurity and, indeed, something bordering on nonsense in Ghalib. Ma'ruf and Faḍl-i-Ḥaq warned Ghālib against chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of a wrongheaded ambition, that of becoming a greater Bedil in Urdu. Ma'rūf was not only a good poet himself, but also a ṣūfī—a practising one. In his company Ghālib acquired not only a working knowledge of mysticism, of which he made excellent use in his poetry, but also that receptivity to things spiritual which was necessary for moderating his purely intellectual approach to life and art. Faḍl-i-Ḥaq, besides being a finished scholar in the current intellectual disciplines, had an impeccable poetic taste. The example of Ma'raf and the friendly criticism of Faḍl-i-Ḥaq between them made Ghalib turn over a new leaf in his poetic practice. Abandoning Bedil, he turned to other masters, such as 'Urfi and Naẓiri, who were better, because easier, models for him to follow.

Two even greater men are also believed to have had something to do with this change. One of them was no less a man than Mir Taqi Mir, the greatest poet of Urdu before Ghālib. According to a story told by Hali on Ghālib's own authority, a friend of his, NawābḤisām al-Din Ḥaidar Khān, having recited some of Ghālib's verses to Mir, the great Olympian remarked: " If this boy gets a good master who can set his feet on the right path, he will become an unrivalled poet; otherwise he will soon begin to write nonsense." The truth of this story has been challenged like that of some others told or reported to have been told by Ghalib about himself. Ghālib, it is argued, was hardly 13 when Mir died at the ripe old age of 88, too far gone during his last years in senile decay for any sensible man to inflict on him the tortuous lucubrations of a mere fledgling and for him to express an opinion on them. The argument is not unanswerable if we assume the not _too fanciful possibility that, in the first place, Hisām al-Din Khān thought Ghālib's verses worth reciting to Mir and that, in the second place, he was on friendly enough terms with Mir to make him pay attention to them during one of his comparatively bright moments. But whatever the literal truth of the story, the point of it is that Ghālib let Mir pilot him into the main stream of Urdu

poetry instead of adhering to his self-charted course, which would have landed him in a shoal.

The second great man who weaned Ghālib from his early eccentricity was the famous Persian scholar-poet, Shaikh ʻAli Ḥazin, who, as GhAlib wrote in the epilogue to his collected Persian verse, "made known to me with a veiled smile my strayings from the right path." Although Ḥazin visited India during Ghālib's early years, we do not know for certain whether the admonition took place at an actual or an imaginary interview. The context suggests the latter rather than the former; for Ghālib goes on to describe similar physical demonstrations of disapproval regarding his early poetic style by Ṭa̲lib Āmuli, ʻUrfi Shirāzi, Ẓahūri and Naẓiri, all of whom had long been dead. However, whether actually or metaphorically, Ḥazin, with his unsparing criticism of all departures from the highroad of Persian poetry in its homeland, helped to guide Ghālib's wayward steps on to that highroad.

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MYSTICISM IN THE EAST AND WEST

Bernd Manuel Weischer

Our topic for today, Mysticism in the East and West, appears to be entirely historical, but if given a closer look it gains much in current interest. Whenever the word "mysticism" is used nowadays in any western country, people generally react by showing bewilderment, they tend to think of esoteric circles of spiritualism, they associate 'mysticism' with the word 'mystification.' Both words have the Greek root 'myo': I close my eyes. (Mystificare: to pretend doing s. th.). It might be difficult to find a clear definition of mysticism, its essence and its goals. One might say, for instance: mysticism means experiencing the transcendental and at the same time finding one's own personality, or: in concentrating on one's self one succeeds in penetrating to the last ground, the prime ground of all things. But let us quote the opinion of several specialists.

Alois Mager: He sees the core of all mystic experience in the fact that the soul gains this experience through a purely spiritual effort, and he says: "Psychologically, the difference between mystical and non. mystical life is rooted in the peculiar duality of the human soul. While, on the one hand, the soul is bonded to the body to form a single nature-bound entity, it can exist, on the other hand, independent of the body as pure spirit. It should be self-evident that the activities of the soul bonded to the body and the soul detached from it are of a completely different nature. A feature that is peculiar to the activity of the pure spirit is immediate self-perception. Even in the state of being bonded to the body the soul still remains pure spirit. But its being caged in the body is an impediment to a purely spiritual activity, hence to the immediate perceiving of one's self." It is obvious that the author of this text argues from the basis of scholastic philosophy and in a typically western-dualistic manner.

The Japanese, Master Roshi describes the experience of mystic enlightenment as follows: "Then you yourself will perceive which is the state of your mind." He continues by saying that a certain revulsion takes place with so much vitality that one might call this event a 'jump of consciousness'. During mystic enlightenment, man experiences the bliss of being entirely within himself. He finds his center and his mental equilibrium, and becomes truly liberated. At the same time, he is tuned into the harmony of the universe, and this happens all by itself. Hence the last goal of mysticism contradicts—generally speaking — the tendencies of our age in which we are more and more subjected to a process of self-alienation and automation, at least in the western world.

But let us quote two more authors: Karlfried Count Durckheim speaks about Zen and mystic enlightenment. He calls them 'going in unto the ground', 'breakthrough to the essence', 'new conscience'. According to Durckheim, enlightenment is the empirical discovery of transcendental reality that breaks the existing frame of the objective perception of the empirical Ego and hence creates basically a new situation for inner man, insofar as the ground of being becomes itself the decisive, guiding force instead of that Ego. This great experience, however, cannot be gained at once. C. G. Jung who studied eastern as well as western phenomena has something quite noteworthy to say. To begin with, he distinguishes between Ego and Self, the Self being the more comprehensive of the two. Enlightenment, he says, is not a change in contents but a new state of consciousness ; literally: "It is not a question of seeing something different, but of seeing differently." He compares the experiences in Shan and Zen Buddhism with those of the Christian mystics, and is of the opinion that the destruction of the rational intellect attempted through the education of the Shan disciple creates a state of consciousness as nearly void of pre-conditions as possible. Destruction of the rational intellect may sound misleading, what is meant is rather that certain intellectual activities are repressed. While psychoanalysis brings only parts of the sub-conscious into consciousness, namely those parts that are

required for the therapeutic process, Jung believes that Satori — or mystic enlightenment — succeeds in yielding a unified overall conscious vision of the total contents of the subconscious. C. G. Jung's explanation is also in agreement with the frequently repeated assertion of the masters that Satori is not something from the outside, but comes from the inside, or in somewhat exaggerated terms: that everybody already has Satori. The moment of enlightenment, the breakthrough into consciousness, always bears the stamp of totality: "Hence the overwhelming effect ! It is the unexpected, comprehensive, completely plausible answer — one believes to have understood everything, there are no doubts left." It is, so to speak, an un-forming of one's previous consciousness, and yet a staying on in the web of cosmic coherence. Related to this thinking are also the Arabic mystic terms Fana' and 'baqa', un-forming and staying, which are familiar in Islamic mysticism (see Farid ed-din Attar).

We can perhaps define the ultimate goal of the mystic path as follows: Mystic enlightenment is a supra-rational and direct self-perception connected with a non-differentiated vision of every creatural existence, an event which conveys the impression of complete unity and, only through the dissolution of the empirical Ego, brings out fully the true Self as the personality and touches on the absolute insofar as the latter is the origin of created being, an experience that, depending on the respective overall disposition of the individual, is always accompanied by a strong feeling of liberation, felicity and assurance.

من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

It is obvious that this goal cannot be reached right away. A more or less long path must be covered to reach it. If enlightenment itself is influenced by the nature and condition of the individual, according to his descent, cultural background and religion, by how much more must the methods and paths differ. True mysticism is no opiate for the people and neither does it lead to quietism, but it leads to the perfection of the individual and hence of society

(Mohd. Iqbal). The usual path, the truth-finding process of one's own conscience, is trying enough, and can frequently and not only in special cases lead to a conflict with the prevailing social order. The mystics of all religions and ages, as individuals or as members of mystic orders, had an influence on the religious, cultural and even political life of their time that is not to be under-estimated. They often aroused the suspicion of their contemporaries through their totally different conduct of life. Many were executed after their alleged dangerousness to the established forms of state or religion had been proven. From the Islamic sphere, I shall only mention Al-Halladsch, Ain al-Qudat al-Hamadani and Suhrawardi maqtul: in the Christian sphere one will think of the witches that were burnt at the stake and of trials like those of Master Eckhart or Joan of Arc. It should be noted, though, that the position of the mystic in Islamic society was somewhat different from that of his Christian counterpart. In the Islamic world of the first centuries, philosophers, freethinkers and mystics formed a front that was in opposition to the theologians and established lawyers. Philosophers were preoccupied with mystic subjects, e.g. Ibn Sina in his 'isharaf:

The position of the mystic in the western sphere was much more isolated, in most cases he had no connection with philosophers and freethinkers (except maybe towards the end of the Middle Ages, I am thinking of the Rosicrucians)! Master Eckhart was incomprehensible even to Ockham, his contemporary. The differences stem not only from the mystic's position in society, but also from his position within his own cultural sphere, from the so widely contrasting philosophies of life of the East and the West.

In the western world, mysticism gained a broader influence during the high Middle Ages, but afterwards became more and more an object for esoteric circles. The West that placed more emphasis on the individual and proceeded very analytically in the natural sciences, was given to thorough analysing and psychologizing in the mystic sphere, too. I am thinking in particular of Spanish mysticism (Juan de la Crus and Teresa de Avila) with its very personal and scrupulous classification of the conditions of the soul. The

influence of Ibu Abbad Rondi and, quite generally, of the Islamic Shadbiliyya is noticeable. Master Eckhart, on the other hand, as an eminent representative of the high Middle Ages and German mysticism, is certainly more en-compassing and more philosophical. He tries to reconcile the established theology and philosophy with his mystic experiences and comes dangerously close to a form of existential monism (see Farid ed-din Attar's 'Hama ost همه اوست, in the monistic sense), which brings him close to eastern thought. Mysticism was, and is probably even today, viewed as a generally familiar and normal phenomenon; everyday life is dotted with mystic symbols. But life in the East, in the Islamic as well as the Asiatic East, is drenched so heavily with mystic symbols that it is difficult to draw the line between mysticism and poetry. Hence the term 'mystic literature' includes a much wider field in the East than in the West. Also, a typically scholastic-western analytical distinction that does not do justice to the phenomenon, i.e. the distinction between 'natural' and 'supra-natural' mysticism (according to Maritain), cannot be carried through and per se does not apply in the East. There are many poets who use mystic symbols and mould them more or less intellectually without ever having had personally any deeper mystic experience. Maybe you have heard of the argument among the scholars about Omar Khayyam, Hafiz or Omar ibn al-Farid. Also in the case of Jelal ed-din Rumi it is very hard to determine which are his personal experiences and which are things he has taken from other systems and worked into his poetry. Let us briefly consider Rumi

who occupies a mediating position between eastern and western thinking.

To start with, a few biographical data: Born 1207 in the Transoxanic town of Balch, he had left Persia with his parents as a young boy, had come to Anatolia after long wanderings and settled in Konya. After his father's death Jelal-ed-din is appointed professor of theology at one of the Konya schools (1230). He becomes preoccupied ever more deeply with mysticism in

the following years. On November 30, 1244, he encounters the wandering dervish Shams-ed-din Tabrizithe place of this encounter is shown in Konya up to the present day—and this mysterious personage becomes to him the embodiment of the divine beloved, becomes, true to his name, 'sun of religion', the central sun in Jelal ed-din's life

"Thy countenance is like the sun, Shamsuddin,

Past which, resembling clouds, the hearts go by."

The close relation with his mystic teacher arouses the jealousy of family and students. Shams ed-din has to leave the city, but returns later upon the request of Jelal ed-din and is finally murdered by jealous students. Searching for him, Jelal ed-din grows into a poet and mystic who expresses his search in ardent verses and eventually finds the beloved in himself and identifies himself with the beloved. On December 17, 1273, Jelal ed-din dies and the honorary title of 'Maulana' is bestowed on him. The symbolism used by Rumi is derived from the Arabic-Persian tradition. Mystic wine and the beloved tavern are themes that had been familiar in poetry for a long time. Many allusions to the Quran and God's "arch-eternal covenant" with mankind. God asks the as yet uncreated mankind: "Alastu birabbikum?", and mankind answers: "Yes, we bear witness to it." This covenant seals the eternal bond tying man to God, the lover to the beloved. It is more or less a predetermined relationship. The personages of the Quran are trans-formed into symbols of general character. When Joseph is mentioned, he appears as the bearer of absolute divine beauty, or he is the symbol of the soul thrown into a black dungeon by hostile powers. Moses is the one to whom the divine light manifested itself and who turned the staff into a snake through heavenly force: he thus becomes the symbol of the mystic beloved who has the power to transform and give life to anything coming close to him. Rumi most certainly knew the theories of mystic love that had crystallised in the course of the centuries and culminate in the doctrine of one's own Ego being extinguished unto the beloved. The lover henceforth is only a mirror through

which the beloved manifests himself ; he has no longer an existence of himself: it is only the beloved who lives and speaks of him. This thesis, for which the ground had been prepared from the theoretical angle by the views and works of Ahmed Ghazzali (died 1126) and his disciple Ain al-Qudat al-Hamadani (1230), found its realisation in Rumi. Even though he might have been influenced by monistic trends as represented in particular by Ibn al-Arabi, he thinks more in terms of personal relationships: return to the prince, home-coming into the custody of the loving friend, complete devotion to the mysterious beloved. Jelal ed-din, therefore, was a lover who gave expression to the idea that man on his part cannot find access to the Deity, but that God must reveal himself to man (see Eckhart: the birth of God in the soul). Without attempting a detailed interpretation of the relationship between Rumi and Shams ed-din, one can nevertheless say that it was first of all a human relationship which was platonically or mystically sublimated. Concepts like 'kallos alathes', inherent beauty, can be found in Plato's works, 'kallos hyper kallos' in those of Plotinus. Earthly beauty is considered the reflection of divine beauty. Everything becomes trans-parent (Mirror motif). The famous conception of the lover and beloved that originated from Plato and was philosophically and theologically interpreted by Plotinus, has also found its way into Islamic mysticism. The three correlatives, lover-beloved-love, which are lastly to be understood in an abstract sense, are used by Ibn Sina and Ahmed Ghazzali as well as the Spanish philosopher Raymundus Lullus who took them over from the Islamic tradition. lbn Sina probably adopted these concepts from Plotinus (Ennsad III, 2, 17. 5f,). Rumi, however, arrives at a totalising comprehension that leaves the rational philosophical, the Platonic thinking behind and penetrates to mystic depths where Shams ed-din is really nothing but a crystal within which the light of the sun is refracted. Already at this point the difference in the philosophical-theological theories about love becomes evident, between the Platonians and Neoplatonians on one side and Rumi on the other. Plato's concept of love is rational, Rumi's idea of love is irrational and cosmic, love is the ground of the universe:

گر نبودی عشق هستی کربدی

If there had not been love, how could there have been existence? Rumi expresses it in an even more radical form:

پس چح باشد عشق دریائی عدم در شکسته عقل را انجا قدم

Then what is love: the sea of non-being, then the foot of the intellect' is battered. The term 'sea of non-being' brings eastern thoughts to mind. But it is difficult to point out specific distinctions, this would mean to think along western lines and hence to split up the overall experience. Mystic experience, perhaps, can be expressed in terms of poetry or even philosophy and can be guided by a certain religion; mysticism, however, is not religion, philosophy or only poetry, the respective religious structure is transcended, at least 'subjectively'. Mysticism has been called the religion of love. Especially Rumi wrote some verses of this kind: "Here all religions are equal: Know ye: the lover is Muslim not !" (Rub. 329a.) Mysticism is also more comprehensive than a philosophy of life that derives everything from categorical and rationally analysed imperatives (see Kant's sense of duty which had an influence on entire generations of Germans, at least in the outward spheres of life). Mysticism is, as we said at the outset. a comprehension of a total and spontaneous nature that largely excludes any discursive thinking. This is evident from the methods to be practised by the novices starting on the mystic path. I need only refer to the 'dhikr' in Islamic mysticism or to the Jesus prayer in the Eastern Church which are both intended to inhibit discursive thinking by effecting concentration on a single formula. Raymundus Lullus. strongly influenced by Islamic customs, offers a number of pertinent aphorisms in his 'Book on the Lover and the Beloved'. Aphorism 54: "The lover walked through a town and sang like a fool of his beloved, and the people asked him whether he had lost his senses. He replied: 'My beloved has taken my will from me and I myself gave him my senses. Therefore, I am only left with my memory (dhikr) to think of my

beloved.' " Aphorism 134: "The beloved asked his lover not to forget him. The lover answered that he could never forget him as he would not be able to banish him from his memory." Aphorism 219: "The lover said to the people: 'He who thinks of my beloved forgets everything else in his memory besides him. And he who forgets every-thing to think of my beloved, in him is my beloved and will let him partake of everything." The role of the Koan in Zen Buddhism or other methods of meditation will not be discussed here. We can see how closely the most dissimilar methods approach each other in this respect and how well they agree in the exclusion of the rational intellect. But to demonstrate once more and quite generally the difference between East and West from the example of Rumi—one asks oneself: where does the East begin?—one can state: Rumi, having grown up against the background of a Prophetic religion, knows the difference between creator and creature, speaks frequently in dualistic metaphors as was mentioned above, but knows as well the un-forming of every individuality and the merging into the divine universe. The symbol is here the drop of water that loses its boundaries and 'individuality', and falls back into the ocean from where it came. Rumi is representative of a generation of monistically imbued mystics in Persia and on the Indian subcontinent—and in India they were surely influenced by Hinduism as well— who sang of the divine abundance of the universe (hama ost). With their experience, these mystics are close to the Chinese and Buddhist mystics who have become united with the Tao or dissolved in the nirvana.

It would he wrong to contend that eastern thinking, as a cosmic way of thinking which proceeds from synthesis and unity, was not capable of analysis and would lack thoughts on individuality and personality. I should only like to remind you of some Chinese philosophers such as Yabg Chu or Sung Hsing. However, eastern thinking would appear to me to be more encompassing in general and to proceed from the one thing, from cosmic harmony (Taiji), as it also presents itself in the historic development of Chinese philosophy. To touch briefly on the most important structures of

the Chinese comprehension of being: Much has been said about yin and yang. Some people considered them as forces, others as substances. Surely no distinction was made in ancient China between forces and substances. Occidental thinking, true to its evolution, interpreted yin-yang as the theory of a basic dualism that makes itself felt through all phenomena of the world. However, one must not forget that the yin-yang principle, even though it is recognizable in everything being and appears in it, is so to speak inherent in it, that it is a transcendental principle, i.e. that this bipolarity of all being as expressed through yin-yang must be under-stood as a manifestation of unity: the one thing, inexpressible and beyond all description, divests itself into those two. Yin and yang are forms, forever inseparable forms of the appearance of being in every-thing being. Yin-yang are not only modes, of working that manifest themselves exclusively in the two-ness of contrasts and phenomena, i.e. in light and shadow, heaven and earth, man and woman, God and man, above and below, cold and warm, etc. Yin-yang are given original structures of the appearance of everything being (CHi-Tor-Akademei), a pre-formation of all ontological structures that does not manifest itself until it unfolds into the quintuplicity of the elements of the given. Yin-yang are, therefore, transcendental. They are at the same time

symbols for the one thing (see e.g. light and the illuminated). Here we are coming to the Tai-ji and Tao. Let us review a number of texts from different schools: "From the Tao springs the one, from the one springs the two, from the two spring the three, and from the three spring ten thousand creatures. All creatures carry the yin and embrace the yang. The streaming fluid works the harmony." (Lao-tse, chapter 42.) "The Tao of heaven is emptiness, emptiness is the beginning of all things. Tao is between heaven and earth, there is nothing that would be larger and nothing that would be smaller." That is to say, Tao includes all possibilities of existence; the great Tao is such that one can rest inside it, but one cannot express it (texts of the Kuan-tsu of the philosopher Sung Hsing, chapters 37 and 38).

I shall omit a description of the role of positive nothingness, of the Buddhistic nirvana. To the eastern wise man and mystic, it is the highest goal to merge into the Tao, to get lost in the ground of the universe. This is in subjective partaking in being, such as in the sense of a platonic metexis, it is the unification with the one thing, achieved under loss of the individual boundaries. A personified concept of God Is nowhere to be found, of course: the starting and end point is the ground and the harmony of the universe. From these considerations it becomes basically clear where the difference between eastern and western mysticism lies. It is, for instance, not possible to compare the mystic theories of love conceived by the Islamic and Christian mystic, theories of the lover and beloved (soul and God) which express the personal relationship between an individual and his divine beloved, with the yin-yang principle, though it must be said that the experience of a duality becoming intertwined into unity and being comprehensible only through that unity certainly points in this direction. You might remember certain passages from the Islamic mystic Al-Hallaj..."With my whole being (existence) have I embraced your whole love, oh my Holiness...", and his theory of the 'Ishq dhati'. (Interpretation) Salvation, holiness and perfection are not to be found in plurality or duality, after all, but lastly in unity.

* * *

THE IMPACT OF KHAWAJA HAFIZ ON IQBAL'S THOUGHT

Abbadullah Farooqi

A student of Iqbal's poetry will not fail to notice that the influence of Khawaja Hafiz Shirazi[19] on him is both wide and deep; and it will be

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[19] 1. Khawaja Hafiz, a contemporary of Dante, was born in the romantic city of Shiraz, named also eulogistically the "rose garden of Persia". Shiraz was then the capital of the ancient kingdom of Persia and was ruled by the dynasty known as Muzzaffarians. He was thus born most propitiously since all things favoured his rapid rise to fortune (save those petty jealousies with which all genuises must contend). His proper name was Mohammad Shams-ud-Din, but he is universally known as Hafiz. He spent most of his long life in Shiraz. His ancestors belonged to Isfahan but his father, Baha-ud-Din had taken up his abode in Shiraz, where he earned his living as a merchant or, as some say, a baker. Just before he died, Baha-ud-Din, failed in business The two elder brothers of the poet wasted the whole property in riotous living, leaving the poor boy and his mother in the lurch. Hafiz managed to obtain some education and learned the Holy Quran by heart. This earned him the title of Hafiz. Later in his life when he became a poet, he adopted this title as his nom de plume. He is recognised on all hands as the best of all Ghazal Writers of Persia, and one of the finest lyric poets that the world has produced. The most outstanding characteristc of his poetry is the perfect harmony of words and ideas, As a singer of divine love he is unequalled by any other poet of his country. His bilingual poems show that he had a good knowledge of Arabic. He wrote foot-notes on Kashaf (كشاف), but unfortunately they are not traceable He was well versed and skilled in Muslim Jurisprudence. He also acquired competence in all the sciences taught in his day. He was courted by many Princes, notably by the Great Temur and by Sultan Ahmad Ilkhani, His high character is seen when he courteously refused such high promotions and preferred a quiet life of retreat with his books and friends,

فراغتے و کتالے و گوشۂ چمنے

سلطان و فکر لشکر و سودائے تاج و گنج درویش و امن خاطر و کنج قلندری
شکوہ تاج سلطانی کہ بیم جاں درو درج است کلاہ دلکش است اما بدرد سر نمے ارزد

Compare these lines with the following lines of Iqbal:

خودی را مردم آمیزی دلیل نارسائی ها تو اے درد آشنا بیگانه شو از آشنائی ها
بدرگاہ سلاطیں تا کجا ایں چہرہ سائی ها موز از خدائے خویش ناز کبریائی ها

"Subservience to others is a proof of the self's immaturity.

Rise superior to such leaning, 0 bearer of the cross. How long wilt thou bow at the courts of kings?

learn from thy God the joy of self-respect"?

He saw as many as seven rulers changing thrones at Shiraz. During the reign of Shuja, who became King in 1358 A,C., Hafiz was appointed professor of Quranic Exegesis at the Royal College of Shiraz by the Minister, Khawap Qiwamuddin,

Anecdotes from Hafiz.

It may be noted that Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Azam Shah of Bengal, sent his emissary to Hails, asking him to visit Bengal. The Sultan sent him the first line of his couplet. ساقی حدیث سرو و گل و لاله می رود. for completion by Hafiz, as he and his court poets failed to do so. Hafiz did it but declined to leave Shiraz and come to Bengal. He said inter alia that "Bengal parrots will become sweet-tongued with the sugar candy of Persia being sent to Bengal".

The story goes that Sultan Azam Shah fell seriously ill and expressed the wish that the lady loves Sery (سرو), Gul (گل) and Lala (لاله) should wash his dead body after his death. The Sultan survived but his beloved trio being joked and scandalized by others as washers of the dead (غسالین), felt the sting

of the satire and complained to the Sultan who improvised the firs: tine quoted above, meaning; "My talk, O Saqi ! continueth to be of Serv, Gul and Lala". The other line did not come in quick, so reference was made to Hafiz whose reputation had travelleed far and wide. The first six lines of the cont. pleted Ghazal are as under

ساقی حدیث سرو و گل و لاله مے رود ویں بحث با ثلاثۂ غساله مے رود
مے ده که نو عروس چمن حد حسن یافت کار ایں زماں ز صنعت دلاله مے رود
شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند زیں قند پارسی که به بنگاله مے رود

"My talk, O Saqi! continueth to be of Serv, Gul and Lala (Cypress, Rose and Tulip). And this talk goes on between the three body washers

Drink on, for the new bride of the garden is in full bloom. Work proceeds these days by the good offices of a go-between.

The parrots of India will become sweet-tongued all, now that the Persian sugar-candy is going to Bengal".

Unlike his illustrious predecessor, Sheikh Saadi, Hafiz never left Shiraz except on one or two occasions. He was not much of a traveller, and his life was chiefly spent in retirement at Shiraz. Hafiz loved Shiraz, a city for which he expressed his love in many of his poems. In one of these the following verse occurs:

نمے دهند اجازت مرا بسیر و سفر نسیم خاک مصلے و آب رکنا باد

On one occasion, on the pressing invitation of Mahmood Shah Bahmani of Deccan, he was tempted to visit India and accordingly embarked on one of the royal ships but a storm soon broke out on the sea, which frightened him so much that he was eventually put back on the shore. Returning to Shiraz he wrote the following charming ode and sent it to the Sultan through Fazlullah. (vide Tarikh-i-Farishta).

دمے با غم بسر بردن جهاں یکسر نمے ارزد بمے بفروش دلق ما کزیں بهتر نمے ازد
شکوه تاج سلطانی که بیم جاں درو درج است کلاه دلکش است اما بدرد سر نمے ارزد
به کوے مے فروشانش بجاے بر نمے گیرند زهے سجاده و تقویٰ به یک ساغر نمے ارزد

بس آسان می نمود اول غم دریا به بوئے سود غلط گفتم که یک موجش به صد من زرنمے ارزد

When Temur captured Shiraz in 1387, he summoned Hafiz before him and reproached him for writing the following verse:

اگر آں ترک شیرازی بدست آرد دل ما را به خال هندوش بخشم سمر قند و بخارا را

'If that Turkish maid of Shiraz takes my heart, for the mole of her cheeks, I would give away Bukhara and Samarkand",

"Are you the one", said Temur sternly, "who was so bold as to offer my two great cities for the mole on your mistress' cheeks"?

"Yes Sir", replied Hafiz, "and it is by such acts of extravagance that I have brough myself to such a state of poverty that I now solicit your bounty". Temur felt flattered and rewarded the poet generously.

One more characteristic story is told of his very young days His uncle had gained some renown as a poet, and Hafiz as a consequence was initiated into the mysteries of prosody at an early stage of his life. One day, however, his uncle went out leaving an unfinished Ghazal on his table. Hafiz, roaming about, saw the poem, and adding the requisite further verse, began to recite it. He found that in the verses written by his uncle, there were se%oral mistakes in the metre. He corrected his errors and left the poem, When his uncle returned, his amazement and fury knew no bounds, since he realised that his nephew had the elusive muse within his soul and his jealousy of his own reputation blinded him to the merit of the accomplishment of Hafiz.

Hafiz never pretended to more than human virtues and it is known he had human propensities, for in his youth he was passionately in 'love with a girl surnamed "Shakh-i-Nabat" or the Branch of a Sugar-cane, and Prince of Shiraz was his rival. The poet himself alludes to it in one of his poems.

There is a place called Pir-i-Sabz or the Green Old Man at a short distance from Shiraz, and popular opinion had long prevailed that a youth who should pass forty successive nights without sleep there would infallibly become an excellent poet. Young Hafiz accordingly made a vow that he would serve that apprenticeship with the utmost exactness and for thirty-nine

dap vigorously discharged his duties, walking every morning before the house of his mistress and passing the nights away at his poetical station, but on the fortieth morning he was transported with joy on seeing the girl beckon to him through the lattices and inviting him to enter, She received him with rapture, declared her preference of a bright genius to the son of a king and would have detained him all night, if he had not recollected his vow, and resolving to keep it inviolable returned to his post. This is grounded on these couplets of Hafz.

دوش وقت سحر از غصه نجاتم دادند و اندراں ظلمت شب آب حیاتم دادند
بیخود از شعشعۂ پر تو ذاتم کردند باده از جام تجلی صفاتم دادند
چه مبارک سحرے بود و وچه فرخنده دمے آن شب قدر که ایں تازه برا تم دادند
کیمیائست عجب بندگئ پیر مغاں خاک اُو گشتم و چندیں درجاتم دادند

The people of Shiraz add that early next morning, an old man in a green mantle, who was no less a personage than "Khizr" (خضر) himself, approached him at 'Pir-i-Sabz' with a cup brimful of nectar and rewarded his perseverance with an inspiring druaght of it. After his juvenile passions had subsided, we may suppose that his mind took the mystic bent which appears in most of his compositions, for there can be no doubt that the following distiches, collected from different odes, are related to the mystical theology of the Sufis.

در ازل پر تو حسنت ز تجلی دم زد عشق پیدا شد و آتش بهمه عالم زد

> "In eternity without beginning, a ray of thy beauty gleamed, then love sprang into being, and cast flames over the whole world".

Haas, thus, vigorously maintains that when man comes into being, something of heaven yet lingers around him He has faint reminiscinses of the celestial glory which surrounded him in the heavently home he has left. Lofty idealism still fills his soul. He retains some of the spiritual insight of the blessed seer. The one omniscient soul in him is still eager to break through the bonds of matter or the phenomenal world in order to find self-knowledge which is the object of its earthly quest.

interesting to trace it out. In order to understand and appreciate the thoughts of both the poets one needs an intuitive and inner under-standing. For mere words are insufficient to convey the deep meaning and beauty of their expression.

The chief claim of Hafiz to immortality is that he succeeded in sounding the depths and reaching the heights of human emotions. He portrayed life — spiritual, mental and physical — as it really is and did not hesitate to, speak his mind when he felt the necessary course to take. This has brought him in conflict with the pure moralists and ethicists who point to his life and verses for confirmation, as his being immoral and far from being exemplary. There were times when Hafiz gave him-self up completely to wine, woman and song. His following couplets relate indubitably to human love and sexual gratification:

دریں زمانه رفیقے که خالی زاز خلل است
صراحی مئے ناب و سفینۂ ڑزل است

"In this age the only friends who are free from blemish are a flask of pure wine and volumes of elegant love songs".

آں تلخوشے که صوفی آم الخبائثش خواند
اشهیٰ لنا و اهلیٰ من قبلة العذارا

Hafiz yearns for his Ideal;

مژدۂ وصل تو کو کز سر جاں برخیزم طائر قدسم و از دام جہاں بر خیزم
یا رب از ابر هدایت برساں برانے پیشتر ز انکه چو گردے زم میاں بر خیزم

"Where are the glad tidings of union with thee that I may abandon all desires of lite! I am a bird of holiness and would fain escape from the net of the world. Shed forth from the cloud of heavenly guidance one cheering shower before the moment I rise up like dust from the midst".

"The poignant liquor which the Sufi calls the 'mother of sins', is pleasantter and sweeter to me than the kisses of a maiden".

حال دل با تو گفتم هوس است خبر دل شنفتنم هوس است

Again,

"To utter to thee the state of my heart is my desire.

To hear the news of my heart (by way of counsel and advice) is my desire".

شب قدرے چنیں عزیز و شریف با تو تا روز خفتنم هوس است

ده که دردانۂ چنیں نازک در شب تار سفتم هوس است

اے صبا امشبم مدد فرما که سحرگه شگفتنم هوس است

"An auspicious night like this, precious and holy,

To sleep with thee till day is my desire.

Alas! the unique pearl, so tender,

To pierce in the dark night is my desire.

0 breeze, tonight give help

For in the morning time to blossom is my desire".

These verses are strongly tinged with sexuality, and it is extremely difficult to find any mystic meaning underlying them. Therefore one has to admit that Hafiz had human propensities and was consequently dominated purely by sensualism when he wrote these verses. It is, therefore, fantastic to say that they have a mystic import which the common man cannot grasp. There were times when Hafiz gave himself completely to wine, woman and song. Consequently, in some of his verses the apparent abandonment of everything in order to fly to pleasure has led some critics to consider him more than an ordinary profligate.

On the other hand, many zealous admirers of Hafiz insist that by wine he invariably means devotion; and they have gone so far as to compose a dictionary of words in the language, as they call it, of the Sufis. In that vocabulary "sleep" is explained by meditation on divine perfection and "perfume" by the hope of divine favour; "kisses and embraces" the raptures of piety; "idolaters, infidels and libertines" are men of purest religion and their idol is the Creator Himself. Beauty denotes perfection of the Supreme Being, "tresses" are the expansion of his glory, "lips" the hidden mysteries of his essence, and "mole", the point of indivisible unity. Lastly, wantonness, mirth and inebrity mean religious ardour and abstraction from all terrestrial thought. To these may be added the following few terms, which I discovered during my study of Diwan Hafiz:—

چشمۂ خورشید درخشانmeans the ultimate reality, غصه means mental agony caused by separation from the beloved, عیسیٰ دم means beloved, Pir (old) means a deserted friend or jilted lover, شباب means everlasting joy of love and union, and wine means love.

According to Hafiz, all men are not equally endowed with the divine impulse of love to be able to attain the happy stage of union with the Supreme Reality. This is the lot of a few.

ذره را تا نبود همت عالی حافظ طالب طالب چشمۂ خورشید درخشان نه شود

"O Hafiz, unless the particle is endowed with high spirit, it cannot aspire for the fountain of the glittering sun".

According to him, people separated from the chief fountain of life are destined to live in a perpetual state of gloom and mental agony. Just as, according to Hafiz, Love, Beauty and Eternity are three aspects of the same reality, similarly, he maintains that ugliness, mortality and mental agony (غصه) are the three chief characteristics of the state of separation from the ultimate source of Beauty and Love. He beautifully illustrates this point in his

following couplet:

چل سال رنج و غصه کشبدیم و عاقبت
تدبیر ما بدست شراب دو ساله بود

"We had to undergo sorrow and grief for forty years till at last our lot fell into the hands of two years old wine".

In the following verses. Hafiz further illustrates the meaning of his terms:

باورم نیست ز بد عہدئ ایام ہنوز قصۂ غصه که در دولت یار آخرشد

"It is on account of the foul play of time that I still harbour doubt as to the end of my grief with the union of the beloved".

Again

جاں رفت در سر مے و حافظ ز غصه سوخت
عیسیٰ دمے کجاست که احیائے ما کند

In the following couplet the term "Pir' means a jilted lover:

من پیر سال و ماه نیم یار بیوفاست
بر من چو عمر مے گذرد پیر ازاں شدم

Thus, the state of agitation or mental agony is invariably caused by separation from the Supreme Love or Beauty. Its accessary results are ugliness and mortality. In order, therefore, to attain immortality one has to drink deep from the fountain of Beauty and Love. Hafiz gives expression to this in the following couplet::

ہوائے منزل یار آب زندگانئ ماست
صبا بیار نسیمے ز خاک شیرازم

Further, it is note-worthy that in the terminology of Khawaja Hafiz

"Youth" (شباب) invariably means one endowed with the divine impulse of love and beauty, while Pir (پیر) is one who has grown old and ugly for want of love and divine glory. This is illustrated beautifully in the following couplet:

گرچه پیرم تو مرا تنگ در آغوشم گیر
تا سحرگه ز کنار تو جواں بر خیزم

G "Although I am old, press me to thy breast one night,

And at dawn I shall arise young from thy side".

Hafiz identifies Love, Beauty and Eternity and uses these terms figuratively. Those who use these terms literally, utterly fail to grasp the underlying conception of Love and Beauty advocated by Hafiz. The study of the genius of Iran would not be complete without some examples of his work. Below, therefore, are given examples of his metaphysic and Sufi philosophy along with some of his most illuminating odes and couplets which will help us fathom his nature. The point at issue is to determine whether the poems of Hafiz should be taken in a literal or figurative sense. The question does not admit of a general and direct answer, for even the most enthusiastic of his commentators allow that some of them should be taken literally.

The fact that mysticism had been in existence years before Hafiz was born and there had been in existence many glossaries bearing such titles as "a key to the correct interpretation of Sufi (mystic) terminology", establishes that Hafiz too had initiated mystic terminology. If we read some of his Ghazals in the Sufi fashion, we can realise this truth. His art, of course, lies in the fact that he succeeded in creating the same effect on the readers which swayed him to write. He has infused a new life into poetry by skilfully mingling in his verse divine and human love. As he says

گفتم صنم پرست مشو، با صمد نشیں
گفتا بکوئے عشق هم این و هم آں کنند

"I advised him to avoid the company of sweet-hearts and associate himself with the Absolute:

He said in reply: both the forms are permissible in the domain of His love".

III

A careful reading of Hafiz' odes, keeping in mind the metaphysical interpretations of the imagery used by the Persian mystical poets, will leave no doubt about his connection with Sufism. In the following verses he has given expression to Sufi ideas regarding pre-determination, the unity of being, the human soul's relation to God, the Sufi way of purification, repentance, conversion, self-extinction and illuminative life etc.

منعم از مے مکن اے صوفئ صافی که حکیم
در ازل طینت ما را ز مئے صاف سرشت

O "Sufi, forbid me not wine.

For the All-wise, in the eternity without beginning

compounded my nature with pure wine".

یک جو از خرمن هستی نتواند برداشت
هر که در راه فنا و ره حق دانه نه کشت

"A grain of the harvest of existence cannot take up whoever in the path of effacement and God sowed not a grain".

ز چشم عشق تواں دید روئے شاهد ما
که نرر چهرۀ خوباں ز قاف تا قاف است

"With Love's eye one can behold the face of the beloved (God). For the radiance of the face of the lovely ones spreads from Qaf (Caucasus) to Qaf".

حدیث از مطرب و مے گوئے و راز دھر کمتر جو
کہ کس نکشود و نکشاید بہ حکمت ایں معما را

"Tell the tale of ministrels and wine. Little seek the mystery of the world,

For this mystery none has solved nor will solve through his wisdom"

دلا ز ھجر مکن نالہ زانکہ در عالم
غم است و شادی و خاور و گل و نشیب و فراز

"O heart! complain not of separation,

For in the world joy and grief, thorn and rose,

Ups and downs go side by side".

تا نفخت فیہ من روحی شنیدم شد یقیں
بر من ایں معنی کہ ما زان ویم، وے زان ماست

"From the moment I heard the divine utterance:'We have breathed into man a portion of our spirit', I was assured that we are his and He ours".

ندیم و مطرب ب ساقی ھمہ اوست
خیال آب و گل در رہ بہانہ

"The companion, the minstrel and the Saqi constitute one Being The fancy of water and clay is illusory".

Thus, from the Sufistic point of view Hafiz' poetry has multiple functions. It may be read for the apparent contents alone ; it may be recited

under certain conditions to provide special improvements in the range of consciousness. He is then to be numbered among the greatest mystics of all times. It is perhaps this which caused him to be called لسان الغیب (the tongue of mystery) which is the secret of his powers.

IV

While going through the poetry of Hafiz and Iqbal one is bound to be struck with many similarities of ideas and ideals. In this article we have to be content with making only a few comparisons and observations illustrated with quotations from the poems of both the poets. As compared with Iqbal, Hafiz believes in the unity of existence, a doctrine which maintains that all things are God. The phenomenal world is the outward manifestation of the one real.

Hafiz observes that when the final nearness is attained, the human soul becomes absorbed in divinity. Thus the doctrine of Hafiz may be described as Pantheism. It interprets belief in one God who is eternal, without beginning and without end. The human soul is also considered to be eternal in the same sense, inasmuch as it is an infinitely small emanation of the absolute God whose spirit pervades all space. The souls of infinite creations, according to Hafiz, differ infinitely in degree but not at all in kind from the divine spirit in which they are particles and in which they will be ultimately absorbed.

Thus, according to Hafiz, God alone is the Absolute Ego and the Absolute Spirit. In all individuals the same ego or spirit manifests itself. They are like mirrors wherein God reflects Himself. Says Hafiz

نظرے کرد کہ بیند بہ جہاں صورت خویش
خیمہ در آب و گل مزرعۂ آدم زد

"The Absolute existence castaglance to behold His own form in the world. He pitched His tent on the water and clay of Adam".

In this way, the spirit may be conceived as one from one point of view and many from another point of view. Hafiz explains this:

مستور و مست ہر دو چو از یک قبیلہ اند

ما دل بعشوۂ که دهیم اختیار چست
در کار گلاب و گل حکم ازلی ایں بود
کاں شاهد بازاری ویں پرده نشیں باشد

"The austere one and the intoxicated one (the profligate) both are of one family. To whose glance shall we give our heart ? What choice have we?" "In the matter of rose-water and the rose, the decree of Eternity without begiming was this: one should be the bare-faced one of the bazar and the other hid behind the veil".

V

On this issue, Iqbal revives the tradition of Ishraqi philosophy according to which Light means Self-conscious existence. Light is being and existence its absence, darkness, non-existence. The being that, is conscious of itself is really existent in itself. If a being is unconscious of itself, that is, devoid of light, it is non-existent. In the metaphysics of Shah'ab-ud-Din Suhrawardi, the contemplating being must dissolve itself in the contemplation of a higher being. The light which is diffused in all directions, returns to itself, dissolving all the grades of being in the light of lights. Hafiz maintains that the thrill of ecstacy is a thrill with which man surpasses the limits of his ignorance and comes to a partially regained consciousness of his eternal being. Thus he says, we are that what we adore. Iqbal rejects all these Pantheistic views and develops his own ideas of ascension and elevation of ego. In the early stage of his career, he fully agreed with Hafiz, even on this point, but later on developed his philosophy of ego, according to which there is no possibility of submergence of the finite beings into the Supreme Being. For God holds the finite egos in His own Self without obliterating their existence. Thus the moral and the religious ides according to this changed attitude of Iqbal is "self-realisation". Iqbal explains his view-point by pointing out that "unitive experience is not the finite ego effacing its own identity by some sort of absorption into the infinite ego, it is rather the Infinite passing into the loving embrace of the finite"!. His poetry bears ample testimony to this faith. Says he:

اے زاهد ظاهر بیں گیرم که خودی فانی است
لیکن تو نمے بینی طوفاںبه حباب اندر

"O pious one, who can see only superficialities,

I grant that the self is mortal.

But thou hast failed to see the tempest

concealed in the bubble".

In the ultimate analysis, however, it would be apparent that the goal of the two poets (i.e, Union of self with the Absolute) is the same, though it can be reached by two different paths. Thus, whether the end is to be achieved by being absorbed in the Absolute or by absorbing the Absolute within the self, is a question of method. Thus the methods of approach to their common goal differ. The path of Hafiz is of love, peace and tranquillity, while that of IqbaI is of stress and struggle. This difference becomes evident from their following respective verses:

چناں بزی که اگر خاک ره شوی کس را
غبار خاطرے از ره گذارے ما نرسد

"In the world so pass that when thou art dead and become dust of the path, nothing malign should reach any one from our both".

Iqbal, on the other hand, says

چناں بزی که اگر مرگ تست مرگ دوام
خدا ز کردۂ خود شرمسار تر گرد

"In the world so live that if your death signifies eternal death,

then God should blush at His conduct".

The verse simply means that since life means action directed to some goal, the death of an active being will certainly mean a break or a dead-lock

created in the purposive activity of God for which He created man and breathed His spirit into him. Therefore, the directive nature of the finite ego is derived out of and proceeds from the directive energy of God. When God breathed into man His spirit, it is this essential and uniqueness of His nature that He imparted to man. It is man's fundamental experience of purposive action, of his striving and reaching end which convinces Iqbal of the individual's efficiency as a personal cause. It is this directive control that makes man a free personality akin to the ultimate ego. It follows that there is no striking difference between Iqbal and Hafiz with regard to their conception of the nature of the finite and the Infinite. As Hafiz says:

تا نفخت فیه من روحی شنیدم شد یقیں

بر من ایں معنی که ما زاں ویم وے زان ماست

"The moment I heard the divine utterance

'I have breathed into man a portion of my spirit'

I was assured that we are His and He ours".

According to this theory all manifestations perceived by the senses are only indicative of one Supreme Being. It signifies that all existence tends to become one indivisible unity, namely God. Hafiz maintains that all things including man proceed from one, all-embracing power, forming an integral part of Him. The same idea works in the mind of Iqbal who sometimes dwells on this theme:

کرا جوئی؟ چرا در پیچ و تابی که اَو پیداست تو زیر نقابی

تلاش اَو کنی جز خود نه بینی تلاش خود کنی جز اَو نیابی

"Whom seekest thou so restlessly ? He is manifest while thou art self-veiled.

Seek Him and thou shalt discover naught but thy own self; seek thy self and thou shall not but discover Him".

Hafiz gives a clearer and more luminous expression of this idea in his

following verse

در اندرون من خسته دل ندانم کیست
که من خموشم و اَو در فغان و در غوغاست

"Within my shattered heart, I know not who dwells,

For I am silent but He is in clamour and tumult".

It short, whereas Hafiz maintains that all existence tends to become one indivisible unity, namely God, Iqbal asserts the uniqueness and sovereignity of the individual ego. He believes in the doctrine of self. This end can be achieved by absorbing God within oneself and not allowing oneself to be submerged in God.

It is on account of this method of approach to his goal that Hafiz is often accused of preaching resignation and inactivity. Iqbal condemns his philosophy of life because he deprecated a life of active striving in the world of concrete force and phenomena ; but a little consideration will show that this is not always the case. Far from preaching passive and inactive life, Hafiz insists on active and strenuous life of individuals, so as to be able to overcome odds and obstacles in the path of love. He is definitely of the view that a lover's personality is sharpened and steeled through a life of active experience. According to him, the odds and sufferings are of particular importance in love, as they serve the useful purpose of strengthening the character of the lover. Here are some illustrations:

در طریق عشقبازی امن و آسائش خطاست
ریش باد آں دل که با درد تو جدید مرهمے

"Peace and tranquillity are repugnant to the affairs of love.

Woe be to the heart that seeks remedy of the pain of your love".

تا صد هزار خار نمے روید از زمیں از گلبنے گلے به گلستاں نمے رسد

"So long as thousands of thorns do not come forth from the earth Not a single rose appears on the rose bush in the garden".

در عاشقی گریز نباشد ز سوز و ساز استاده ام چو شمع سترماں ز آتشم

"No one can avoid the burning of heart in the matter of love;

I stand like a candle, so do not frighten the people of my inner burning".

قرار و خواب ز حافظ طمع مدار اے دوست قرار چیست، صبوری کدام، خواب کجا

"O friend, do not expect tranquillity and sweet repose from Hafiz ; Neither does he know peace, nor slumber".

روندگان طریقت رہ بلا سپرند رفیق عشق چہ غم دارد از نشیب و فراز

"The travellers of the path of love undergo a lot of trouble;

The companion of love cares very little for the ups and downs in his way".

ز مشکلات طریقت عناں متاب اے دل
کہ مردہ راہ نیندیشد از نشیب فراز

"O heart! Do not turn away from the odds of love, for a brave traveller has no fear of ups and downs".

Iqbal who awakened the Muslims to their choicest misssion of life, infused in them the spirit of life, poured fresh vigour in their body, and inspired them to shake off their slumber. His message to the nation is the message of life, action and struggle. He expresses his perpetual quest of the infinite in the following verse.

موج ز خود رفتۂ تیز خرامید و گفت ہستم اگر می روم گر نہ روم نیستم

"A wild wave rolled fast and said,

I exist if I move; I cease to exist if I do not".

به کیش زنده دلاں زندگی جفا طلبی سفر به کعبه نه کردم که راه بے خطر است است

"In the creed of the living souls life means nothing but striving,

I declined to undertake the journey of Ka'ba, as it was not beset with dangers".

In the prologue of Asrar-i-Khudi, Iqbal explains his dynamic philosophy thus:

چشمه حیواں براتم کرده اند محرم راز حیاتم کرده اند

ذره از سوز نوایم زنده گشت پر کشود و کرمک تابنده گشت

"The Fountain of life hath been given to me to drink;

I have been made an adept in the mystery of life;

The speck of dust was vitalised by my burning song;

It unfolded wings and became a fire-fly".

Again he says:

حدیث بے خبران است با زمانه بساز زمانه با تو نسازد تو با زمانه ستیز

"It is the ignorant who say: 'Adjust yourself to your times';

If the times do not conform to your wishes, fight against them".

Again Iqbal says:

زندگئ سوز و ساز به ز سکون دوام فاخته شاهیں شود از تپش زیر دام

هیچ نیاید ز تو غیر سجود نیاز خیز چو سرو بلند اے به عمل نرم گام

تو نشانسی هنوز شوق بمیرد ز وصل چیست حیات دوام؟ سوختن ناتمام

"A tumultous life is better than perpetual peace; a dove becomes a falcon due to agitation in being entrapped.

You do not know anything except submissive prostration; stand up like a cypress, you, slow in activity. You hardly realise yet that desire dies with union. What is ever-lasting life? It is ceaseless burning".[20]

Iqbal thus apparently provides us with an instructive contrast with the ideas of Hafiz; yet deep thinking will reveal that both teach the same lesson of living active and strenuous life.

A good deal of Iqbal's poetry is devoted to this intense and consuming faith. Thus, life as Iqbal iterprets it, is a prepetual change, a continuous journey of man to new goals and new triumphs, while rest spells death:

کیش ما مانند موج تیزگام اختیار جاده و ترک مقام

"Our creed, like that of a swift-footed wave, is the adoption of the road and rejection of the goal".[21]

VI

Both Hafiz and Iqbal are unanimous in holding that love individualises the lover and beloved. They define life as continuous restlessness, constant burning and ceaseless quest. While for Iqbal, it is a wish to advance on the journey without longing for the goal, for Hafiz it is a wish to attain union with the eternal Being.

Iqbal maintains that God is not necessarily the goal, for He Himself is in pursuit of man:

زندگی ہر جا که باشد جستجوست حل نشد ایں نکته من صیدم که اُوست

"Life wherever it may be, is a restless search; unresolved is the riddle—am I the quarry or is He ?"

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[20] Payam.i-Mashriq P. 99, P.99.

[21] Payam.i-Mashriq P.48.

According to Iqbal, the submergence of the finite into the infinite means the end of love and individuality. He therefore says:

تو نشناسی هنوز شوق بمیرد ز وصل چیست حیات دوام سوختن نا تمام

"Thou knowest not that love dies on achieving union. What is life everlasting? It is ceaseless burning".

Again he says

زندگی در جستجو پوشیده است اصل اُو در آرزو پوشیده است

آرزو جان جهان رنگ و بو فطرت هر شے امین آرزو

آرزو هنگامه آرائے خودی موج بیتابے ز دریائے خودی

"Life is preserved by purpose;

Its origin is hidden in desire.

Desire is the soul of the world of hue and scent;

From the flame of desire the heart takes life;

Desire keeps the self in perpetual uproar;

It is a restless wave of the self's sea".

The same idea is expressed by Hafiz in his beautiful verses, though unlike Iqbal his ultimate aim is not the affirmation but the negation of the self. Says he

ازاں به دیر مغانم می دارند

که آتشے که نمیرد همیشه در دل ماست

"In the cloister of the Magian, they hold me dear for the reason that in our heart a fire that does not die is ever burning".

Yearning for the Supreme Being, as Hafiz maintains, is from eternity without beginning and will continue till eternity without

end.

نه ایں زماں دل حافظ در آتش طلب است که داغدار ازل همچو لالۂ خود روست

"Not at this time Hafiz' heart is in the fire of search; for in eternity without beginning it possessed the mark of love like the self-growing wild tulip."

In the following verse Hafiz observes that immortality is the lot of one who cherishes love with the infinite.

جز دل کم ز ازل تا به ابد عاشق تست
جاوداں کس نشنیدم که دریں کار بماند

"Save my heart which is burning with your love from eternity without beginning to eternity without end, I have heard of none who remained list in this affair for ever".

Thus in dealing with the question of immortality of self both Iqbal and Hafiz are unanimous, holding that personal immortality is not man's by right, but can only be achieved by personal efforts. The way is always open to man to achieve this high ideal and become immortal.

Although man's ego has its beginning in time, with the emergence in the spatio-temperal world, this finitude is not a misfortune. It is with the irreplaceable singleness of his individuality that the finite ego will approach the infinite ego to see for himself the consequences of his past action and to judge that one can reach the high point of self-possession through divine force of love. Likewise, Iqbal maintains that one can preserve one's individuality in contact with the infinite ego. Both regard the path of love as arduous and beset with perils. These obstacles and negative forces in the way of life are, however, necessary and vital. For the evolution of life cannot become complete without its struggle with the forces which negate and oppose it. Therefore, both Iqbal and Hafiz welcome all difficulties, dangers and sufferings in the pursuit of their ideals. For instance, says Iqbal:

اے که آسوده نشینی لب ساحل برخیز که ترا کام بگرداب و ہنگ است هنوز

"O thou, who seekest thy ease on the banks of the river, rise up for you have still a great task before you of battling with the whirlpool and crocodiles".

به کیش زنده دلاں زندگی جفا طلبی است سفر به کعبه نه کردم که راه بے خطر است

Thus according to Iqbal one has to stake one's life to make a way.

از بلاها پخته تر گردد خودی
تا خدا را پرده در گردد خودی

"The self becomes more mature through sufferings until it rends the veil that covers God".

گفتم که سود خویش ز جیب زیاں بیار گل از شگاف سینه زر ناب آفرید
درماں ز درد ساز اگر کسته تن شوی خوگر به خار شو که سراپا چمن شوی

"Get profit out of loss; the rose has created pure gold by rending its breast! If thou art wounded, make pain thy remedy.

Accustom thyself to thorns that thou mayst become entirely one with the garden".

Like Iqbal, Hafiz also believes that nothing comes easy to man. One has to win one's heart's desires with one's blood:

تا صد هزار خار نمے روید از زمیں از گلبنے گلے به گلستان نمے رسد

"Until from the soil spring not a hundred thousand thorns,

No rose can appear from a rose-bush in the garden".

Again he says:

حافظ از باد خزاں در چمن دهر مرنج فکر معقول بفرما گل بے خار کجاست

"Hafiz grieve not at the autumn wind which blows in the garden of the world. Exercise reason: Where is there a rose without thorn?"

دریں چمن گل بے خار کس نچید آرے چراغ مصطفوی با نژاد بولہبی است

"In the garden none plucked a rose without thorns. The glorious lamp of the Prophet is destined to be with the flame of Abu Lahab".

According to Iqbal man has got the mission of conquering the opposing forces and mastering nature to remould it nearer to his heart's desire. This struggle with the opposing forces will undoubtedly develop the self and thus save it from dissolution at the time of death.

VII

Love and beauty are two aspects of the same reality.

"Beauty is love and love is Beauty, and a thing of beauty is a joy for ever", constitutes the main theme of Hafiz' poetry. Love and Beauty, the divine and spiritual in nature, are identical. As Hafiz says:

در ازل پر توحسنت ز تجلی دم زد عشق پیدا شد و آتش به همه عالم زد

"In the eternity without beginning a ray of beauty began to gleam; then Love aroise and cast flames over all the world".

In his view, Beauty is not something physical or corporeal, nor does it consist in the expression of lovely features of the human body. It is the expression of love. According to Hafiz, love is the inner urge of life which emanates from the celestial Beauty and pervades the heart of divine luminaries. Thus the fininte being is both love and beauty, just as the Infinite is. In the couplets that follow Hafiz illustrates the subjective nature of beauty.

جمال شخص نه چشم است و زلف عارض و خال
هزار نکته دریں کاروبار دلداریست
لطیفه ایست نانی که عشق ازو خیزد
که نام اں نه لب لعل و خط زنگاریست

"Neither eye nor tresses, nor cheeks nor mole constitutes beauty; it, on the other hand, involves thousand subtle points in its scope". It is the hidden element that kindles the fire of love. Neither does it consist of ruby lips nor the green down of the beloved".

The same idea is expressed by Fughani:

خوبی ہمیں کرشمه و ناز و خرام نیست
بسیار شوه ہاست ب تاں را که نام نیست

Hafiz further holds that divine love not only lends charm but also immortalises its recipient:

ہر گز نمیرد آنکه دلش زنده شد به عشق
ثبت است بر جریدۂ عالم دوام ما

"Never dies a man who is inspired by the divine force of love. Our immortality is recorded for ever in the annals of time".

"Beauty is the expresion of love," says Hafiz; "the perfume of the rose is in no need of the musk of China and Chigal — for its pod of musk is from fastening the coat itself".

Hafiz spoke with convincing passion that beauty is the product of love while immortality springs from beauty as well as love. To make this point clear, he illustrates

چوں سکندر حیات اگر طلبی لب لعل نگار را دریاب
بر رخ ساقی پری پیکر موسم گل بنوش بادۂ ناب

"If, like Alexander, you desire immortality, gain occess to the beloved's lips. Quaff pure wine in the assembly of the fairy-faced cup-bearer".

Again

خطبان پارسی کو پخشندگان عمر اند

ساقی بده بشارت پیران پارسا را

"The charming beauties of Persia are life-giving. 0 cup-bearer, bring these glad tidings to the old men of piety".

Nazriri gives expression to the same idea:

روئے نکو معالجۂ عمر کوتہ است ایں نسخہ از بیاض مسیحا نوشتہ ایم

Iqbal strikes a similar note in the Javid Namah:

چیست بطدن دانی اے مرد نجیب؟ از جمال ذات حق بردن نصیب

"Noble Sir! do you know what it is to be? To take one's share of the Beauty of God".

Thus separation from the supreme beauty is the chief cause of ugliness and mortality. This state of separation (غصہ) and the suffering from this anguish is termed as "Pir". Thus in the terminology of Hafiz "Pir" is one who is bereft of divine glory and grace. Youth (shabab) on the other hand means union and full enjoyment of divine love. Hafiz explains these in the follow ing verses:

من پیر سال و ماہ نیم یار بیوفاست ہر من چو عمر مے گذرد پیر ازاں شدم

گرچہ پیرم تو شبے تنگ در آغوشم گیر تا سحرگہ ز کنار تو جواں بر خیزم

"I am rendered old not by the passage of time. Rather my old age is due to the indifferent attitude of my beloved who passes by me like time".

"Although I am old, press me fast to thy breast one night that at dawn I may arise as a youth from thy side".

Both Iqbal and Hafiz maintain that beauty is the manifestation of the divine force of love. Hafiz says

کمال دلبری و حسن در نظر بازیست بہ شیوۂ نظر از ناظران دوران باش

گلبن حسنت نہ خود شد دلفریب ما دم ہمت بر او بگماشتیم

"The perfection of love and beauty lies in the mutual exchange of loving glances. So follow the masters in this particular art".

"The rose branch of thy beauty never assumed charm by itself. It was rather I who infused this spirit of beauty into thee by my breath".

The theme recurs in his poetry again and again:

از کیمیائے مہر تو زر گشت روئے من آرے بہ یمن ہمت تو خاک زر شود

"My face turned golden on account of the blessed touch of thy love;

indeed, it is by virtue of your good wishes that clay turns into gold".

Again he says:

ہر گل نو کہ شد چمن آرا اثر رنگ و بوئے صحبت اوست

"Every fresh rose that has adorned the garden by its appearance, gains hue and scent from its association with the beloved".

Again:

آنچہ زر می شود از پرتو آں قلب سیاہ کیمیائست کہ در صحبر درویشان است

"That which turns a black heart into gold by its reflection, is the alchemy that is found in the company of Derveshes".

Iqbal also advances expression of the same thought:

بہ برگ لالہ رنگ آمیزئ عشق بجان ما بلا انگیزئ عشق

اگر ایں خاکداں را وا شگافی درونش بنگری خونریزئ عشق

"It is love that imparts colour to the tulip;

It is love that agitates our soul.

If you open the heart of the earth,

You will see in it the blood-spilling of love".

بہار برگ پراگندہ را بہم بربست نگا ملست کہ برلالہ رنگ و آب فزود

"The spring has only tied together the scattered leaves;

It is my eye which has given the poppy colour and sheen."

Again he says:

جمیل تر ہیں گل و لالہ فیض سے اس کے نگاہ شاعر رنگیں نوا میں ہے جادو

"By its grace the rose and poppy acquire a fresh charm;

There is magic, indeed, in the glance of a poet with colourful melodies".

Further, according to Hafiz, love is mutual and reciprocal. One cannot therefore imagine a true lover denied the response of love. Hafiz beautifully illustrates these points in the following verse:

عاشق کہ شد کہ یار بحالش نظر نہ کرد اے خواجہ درد نیست و گرنہ طبیب ہست

"There is no true lover whose love has not been reciprocated.

O Khawaja, you have no malady, otherwise the physician is there".

Iqbal gives expression to the same thought:

عشق از لذت دیدار سراپا نظرست حسن مشتاق نمود است و عیاں خواھد بود

"Love is all sight from the .deliciousness of seeing;

Beauty wishes to be known and known it must be".

Further, Love, according to Hafiz, is a creative and continuous process. As he says:

حسن بے پایان اُو چندانکہ عاشق مے کند زمرۂ دیگر بہ عشق از غیب سر برمے کند

ما جرائے من و معشوق مرا پایاں نیست ہر کہ آغاز ندارد نپذیرد انجام

"The more lovers are annihilated by the resplendent light of the beloved's glory, the more they are replaced by a fresh group of lovers emerging every moment, as a result of love, from non-existence". "The love story of me and my beloved is endless. A thing that has no beginning knows no end".

The same idea is expressed by Iqbal:

گماں مبر کہ بہ پایاں رسید کارمغاں
بزار بادۂ نا خوردہ در رگ تاک است

"Imagine not that the tavern-keeper's work has come to its destined end. For there are thousand wines still untasted in the veins of grapes."

Both Iqbal and Hafiz are unanimous in holding that the lovers can change the destiny of others by their love-inspiring looks. According to Hafiz, a lover transmits love and beauty through his looks. Iqbal, who is in agreement with Hafiz gives enpression to this idea in his following couplet:

فقط نگاہ سے ہوتا ہے فیصلہ دل کا
نہ ہو نگاہ میں شوخی تو دلبری کیا

"Only a 'look' decides the matter of the heart.

If the 'look' lacks the expression of love, then what constitutes the art of heart-capturing?"

مرا درس حکیماں درد سر داد کہ من پروردۂ فیض نگاھم

"The lesson imparted by the philosophers brought to me headache; For I was brought up under the charming influence of looks".

بہار برگ پراگندہ را بہم بربست نگاہ ماست کہ بر لالہ رنگ وآب فزود

Again he says:

به برگ لاله رنگ آمیزئ عشق بجان ما بلا انگیزئ عشق
اگر ایں خاکداں را وا شگافی درونش بنگری خونریزئ عشق

Hafiz gives expression to the same idea:

آنانکه خاک را بنظر کیمیا کنند آیا بود که گوشۂ چشمے بما کنند

"Those who can turn dust into alchemy through their looks,

May be they cast a side-glance on me the destitute one also".

صد ملک دل به نیم نگه می توان خرید
خوباں دریں معامله تقصیر می کنند

"One can purchase hundred domains of heart by half a glance. The beloveds commit blunders who do not do this".

VIII

The heart of man is a vehicle of supreme glory and place of manifestation of divine light. It is held by Hafiz as well as by Iqbal that the treasury of Reality and mystic apprehension is in the heart, where from some faint moon-beams gleams the mystic apprehension of God. Again, both contend vigorously that the rays of eternal beauty are not without but within. Both see in h the centre of intuition of the divine. In order to make this point clear, Hafiz significantly remarks:

سالها دل طلب جام جم از ما مے کرد
آنچه خود داشت ز بیگانه تمنا مے کرد
گوهرے کز صدف کون و مکاں بیروں کرد
طلب از گم شدگان لب دریا مے کرد

"For years my heart was demanding Jamshed's cup from us;

What it had itself, it desired of strangers.

The pearl which is not in the shell of the phenomenal world,

It sought from the benighted people on the seashore".

Here is a picture of mankind lost on the shore of the boundless sea of divine knowledge. Unaware as man is of his own identity, how can he possibly apprehend transcendent reality. Even though he should spend long years making diligent inquiries from the mirror, he cannot achieve the knowledge of God. Hafiz claims to have achieved this through Intuition. He says:

ما در پیاله عکس رخ یار دیده ایم اے بے خبر ز لذت شرب مدام ما

"We have seen the vision of God in the depth of our bowl (of wine); 0 you, unaware of our pleasure of perpetual quaffing".

Like Hafiz, Iqbal also detects God in man. He says:

هست معشوقے نہاں اندر دلت چشم اگر داری بیا بنمائمت

"A beloved lies hidden in the depth of your heart;

If you have an eye of discernment, come, I will show you".

Again he says:

خود را کنم سجودے دیر و حرم نماندہ آں در عرب نماندن ایں در عجم نماندہ

"I prostrate before my own self; there being left no temple and the sanctuary of Kaaba.

The one has ceased to exist in Persia while the other in Arabia".

Again, in order to attain the goal, both Hafiz and Iqbal lay stress on following the directions of a spiritual guide who lays down to his disciples certain rules of practice and otherwise guides them in every detail of life. According to Hafiz, a person who attempts to traverse this path without the aid of such a counsellor, has Satan for his guide. He illustrates it thus:

بکوئے عشق منه بے دلیل راه قدم
که گم شد آنکه دریں ره برهرے نرسید

"Do not step in the street of love without a guide; for one who enters it without a guide loses the path".

Again he says:

به مے سجاده رنگیں کن گرت پیر مغاں گوید
که سالک بے خبر نبود ز راه و رسم منزلها

"If the tavern-keeper (i.e., guide) orders thee to colour thy prayermat with wine, do so ; for the traveller is not unaware of the customs and manners of the stages of love path".

The spiritual guide is believed to be able to transmit spiritual powers to his disciples. Hafiz longs for this spiritual light.

ساقی بنور باده بر افروز جام ما مطرب بگو که کار جهاں شد بکام ما

"O cup-bearer, light the cup of our heart with the glow of thy wine; And, 0 minstrel, harp that the affairs of the warld are in full accordance with our will".

The spiritual leaders find satisfaction in sessions of meditation that equip them to proclaim the message of truth, to attain peace of mind in the midst of temptations and reach the heart of humanity for the illumination that leads to the domain of reality. The disciple must mystically always bear his guide in mind and become mentally absorbed in him through constant meditation and contemplation of him.

Iqbal is definitely opposed to such meditations and contemplations. All that he says is that the spirit of the leader should follow the disciple in all his efforts and accompany him wherever he may be, quite as a guardian spirit. He further insists upon us to follow a dynamic guide and not one devoid of zeal and enthusiasm.

مرید همت آں رهروم که پا نگذاشت
به جادۂ که درو کوه و دشت و دریا نیست

"I admire the courage of the wayfarer who disdains to set his feet on the path that is not beset with deserts, mountains and streams".

Iqbal, thus would scorn to follow any spiritual leader who shuns the adventurous path, and gives his allegiance only to him who is prepared to do and dare:

مرید حلقۂ رندان باده پیما باش حذر ز بیعت پیرے که مرد غوغا نیست

"Join the circle of care-free drinkers;

Follow not the guide who is afraid of turmoil".

Again!

کیمیا پیدا کن از مشت گلے بوسه زن بر آستان کاملے

"Transmute the handful of dust into gold

By submitting before a perfect guide".

Such a guide alone can lead his disciple from the beginning of the journey to the endless quest of his ideal, guiding him at every stage and helping him in every state.

IX

The entire spirit of Iqbal and Khawaja Hafiz' poetry is cosmopolitan. Both are liberal and disdain sectional wranglings and narrow-minded philosophy of the orthodox. Both believe that all religions are equally true and preach just the same truth and teach the existence of the very same lord found equally in mosque, church and temple, all the apparent difference and conflict being superficial and created by men. Here are as some illustrations:

جنگ هفتاد و دو ملت همه را ع ذر بنه
چوں ندیدند حقیقت ره افسانه زدند
ما عیب کس به رندی و مستی نمے کنیم
لعل بتاں خوش است و مئے خوشگوار هم
خاطر بدست تفرقه دادن نه زیر کیست
مجموعۂ بخواه و صراحی بیار هم

"Well, you can excuse the conflicts and wrangling of the seventy-two sects of Islam.

As they failed to realise the truth, they just took to the path of imaginary story telling".

"We do not find fault with any one for being tipsy and intoxicated. Pleasant are the ruby lips of the beloved as also the tasteful wine. It is not wise to give oneself to sectional wranglings.

Just try to attain unity and enjoy the goblet of wine".

Again he says:

همه کس طالب یارند چه هشیار و چه مست
همه جا خانۂ عشق است چه مسجد چه کنشت

"Everyone whether sensible or insensible, is the seeker of the beloved. Every place whether the mosque or the temple is the house of love".

Iqbal gives expression to similar ideas:

حرف بد را برلب آوردن خطاست کافر و مومن همه خلق خداست
منکر حق نزد ملا کافر است منکر خود نزد من کافر تر است

"It is wrong to utter a bad word ;

The infidel as well as the faithful are God's creations.[22]

A disbeliever in God is Kafir, according to the Mulla. But to me, he who does not affirm the 'Serf' is a greater Kafir".

Iqbal thus will not ask the Brahman to give up his religion but wants him to prove worthy of the sacred thread by not trampling down the good traditions of hine ancestors.

من نه گویم از بتاں بیزار شو کافری؟ شائستۂ زنار شو

تو که هم در کافری کامل نۂ در خور طوف حریم دل نۂ

"I do not bid thee to abandon thine idols;

Art thou an unbeliever ? Then be worthy of the badge of unbelief!

Thou that art not even a perfect infidel,

Art unfit to worship at the shrine of the spirit".[23]

This theme recurs in Iqbal's poetry again and again.

فرقے نه نهد عاشق در کعبه و بت خانه

ایں جلوت جانانه آن خلوت جانانه

شادم که مزار من در کوئے حرم بستند

راهے ز مژه کاوم از کعبه به بت خانه

"A lover knows not the difference between the Ka'ba and the Idol House.

[22] Translation by S.A. Vahid,
[23] Translation by S.A. Vahid,

For him this is the common and that the exclusive meeting-place of the Beloved.

I am happy that they have built my grave in the precincts of the Ka'ba,

From there I shall make the way with my eyelashes to the Idol House".[24]

Again Iqbal says:

در دیر نیاز من در کعبه نماز من زنار بدوشم من تسبیح بدستم من

"In the temple I offer my homage, in the Ka'ba I offer my prayer;

I have the sacred thread round my shoulder and rosary in my hand".

x

Both the poets are one in their belief of human perfectibility and have prophesied the coming of the superman. Hafiz foresees the coming of microcosmic being, the perfect man, in future.

خاکساران جہاں را به حقارت منکر
تو چه دانی که دریں گرد سوارے باشد

"Do not look down upon the humble creatures of the world

For it is just possible that out of the dust a rider may appear!"

R. A. Nicholson, giving his own interpretation of the perfect man, says that "he is one who has fully realised the essential essence of oneness with the divine being, in whose likeness he is made".

The perfect man of Iqbal is the outcome of the impassioned search of the divinity for man. When man realises all his possibilities, he becomes the perfect man. The Superman, according to him, is the completest ego, the goal of humanity. Iqbal greets his coming in these words:

[24] Translation by S.A. Vahid,

اے سوار اشہب دوراں بیا اے فروغ دیدۂ امکاں بیا
رونق ہنگامۂ ایجاد شو در سواد دیدہ ھا آباد شو
شورش اقوام را خاموش کن نغمۂ خود را بہشت گوش کن
خیز و قانون اخوت ساز دہ جام صہبائے محبت باز دہ

"Appear' O rider of Destiny ;

Appear 0 light of the dark realm of Change.

Illumine the scene of existence ;

Dwell in the blackness of our eyes.

Silence the noise of the nations ;

Imparadise our ears with thy music!

Arise and tune the harp of brotherhood;[25]

Give us back the cup of the wine of love!"

XI

Again, both the poets (Iqbal and Hafiz) were endowed with prophetic vision. The "Diwan Hafiz" is a great monument amongst the Persian-knowing people and as such did not fail to exercise deep influence on the mind of the Persian-knowing people throughout the years. It is still used for the purpose of divination or for an omen by those about to commence an important undertaking of uncertain issues. This was once the custom in Europe when people consulted the works of Virgil on similar occasions. A s Hafiz' prophecies invariably prove true, he has been described as "the tongue of the invisible".

Iqbal who was deeply influenced by Hafiz' raptures also sings of the

[25] Translation by S.A. Vahid,

future in his own way. Below are given a few instances of his prophetic dream:

پس از من شعر من خوانند و دریا بند و می گویند
جہانے را دگر گوں کرد یک مرد خود آگاھے

"When I am gone they will read my verse and discover that a self- 1 knowing man revolutionised the whole world".

Again he foresees a revolutionary change in the world:

مجھ کو تو یہ دنیا نظر آتی ہے دگر گوں
معلوم نہیں دیکھتی ہے تیری نظر کیا

"I see the world revolutionisted; I do not know what thine eyes see".

When evil and corruption prevail, people are bound to taste the fruit of their misdeeds. How clearly is this point driven home to us by Iqbal:

انقلابے که نه گنجد به ضمیر افلاک بینم و هیچ ندانم که چساں مے بینم

"A revolution that cannot be contained in the heart of the Heaven, I see and do not know how I see it".

This was the prophecy of Iqbal nearly forty years ago, and it is indeed wonderful that one should see it being fulfilled.

The prophecy he made about the emergence of the new Muslim state of Pakistan also presents a striking example of his prophetic vision.
Truly did Iqbal foresee the world-wide following he was going to get, as he says:

نخستیں لالۂ صبح بہارم پیاپے سوزم از داغے که دارم
بچشم کم میں تنہائیم را که من صد کارواں گل در کنارم

"I am Tulip-Herald of the spring.

Around the heart the flame of love doth cling.

Disdain me not today if I am alone,

Behind me caravans of flowers I bring!"

XII

Hafiz has been very aptly described as the most elegant poet of Persia. He is acknowledged as the greatest lyricist that Iran has ever produced in the domain of lyrical, mystic and ethical poetry. Perhaps no poet has swayed a greater influence both on his contemporaries and future generations at home and abroad than Hafiz. The lofty flow and irresistible charm of his poems, echoing the delicate sentiments and deep aspirations of every human heart, have an inspiring force and a universal appeal (rarely found in the annals of Persian literature) for their music and eloquence. His lyrics are noted for their inimitable style, their unique mode of expression and profound poetic appeal. During his life-time his reputation spread, not only in Persia but far beyond its borders as he himself sings in one of his odes:

ز شعر حافظ شیراز مے گویند و مے رقصند

سیه چشمان کشمیر و ترکان سمرقندی

"The black-eyed beauties of Kashmir and

The Turks of Samarkand sing and dance to the strains of Hafiz of Shiraz' verses".

The fame of Hafiz rests upon the creative intensity of his imagination and the easy flow of his expression. There is a wildness of fancy which has made him the first among the favourites of his country-men. His favourite subjects are "contentment", "seclusion", "wine", "love", "beauty" and the Epicurean philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry". But his wine, according to some of his interpreters, is the wine of divine love which frees mankind from all worldly cares and anxieties and elevates it to the blissful heights of glory.

In short, Hafiz is recognised on all hands as the best of all Ghazal-writers of Persia and is one of the finest lyric poets that the world has

produced. The most outstanding characteristic of his poetry is the perfect harmony of words and ideas. As a singer of the joys of love, he is unequalled by any other poet of his country. He soared highest, far above the limits where human vision could reach, and conquered for us empires undreamed of by any poet. He was a poet for all ages and all times. His melody, so softly beautiful, so sweet, so ravishing and yet with its import so elusive, has been charming Asia for centuries.

In the Persian Ghazal, Iqbal followed the best traditions of the style of Hafiz, Rumi and Saadi. He subjected Hafiz to scathing condemnation for his escapist tendencies in the first edition of Asrar-i-Khudi but could not help being swayed by the magical charm of his style and ideas. Thus he tried to reproduce in his lyrics the same ethereal spirit, the same splendid music, the same glowing imagery and the same air of deep ecstacy. Both are highly symbolical, though the significance of their symbols can vary with their diametrically opposed philosophies of life.

Lastly, lqbal has taken most of his terms from Khawaja Hafiz' poetry, investing some of them with entirely new meanings. For instance, he has styled the lyrical portion of Payam-i-Mashriq from a term borrowed from Hafiz. Zinda Rod, Shakh-i-Nabat, Saqi, Khudi, Gul-o-Lala, Sharab, etc. are a few terms which Iqbal borrowed from Hafiz. These may be noticed in the following verses of Hafiz:

بده ساقی مئے باقی که در جنت نخواهی یافت
کنار آب و کنا باد و گلگشت مصلے را
اگرچه زنده رود آب حیات است
ولے شیر از ما از اصفهاں به
ایں همه قند وشکر کز سخنم مےریزد
اجر صبریست کزاں شاخ نباتم دادند

Iqbal thus shows unmistakable signs of Hafiz' influence on his Ghazals. He reproduced the lyrical forms of Hafiz with unprecedented suceess.

To *conclude*: the popularity achieved by Iqbal in his life-time and after death has scarcely a parallel in the world. The only other instance of great

popularity is furnished by the well-known master of Persian verses, Khawaja Hafiz Shirazi. The world has considerable admiration for both the poets. They have close resemblance in some respects and differ in others. They are both visionaries and dream of a better future of the world. They love humanity as a whole.

Both of them are fond of mystic introspection but with this difference that the one treats it as a goal in itself, while the other uses it as an urge to dynamic energy and a warning against mysticism as an opiate.

In Iqbal's opinion, many of the difficulties of the East are due to her failure to use God-given powers to man to captivate nature and to subordinate it to his own use.

Although Iqbal adopts an uncompromising attitude towards the Pantheistic creed of Hafiz and seeks to preserve, develop and fortify the human personality, he occasionally exhibits the deep impact of Hafiz on his mind and thought.

IQBAL—A SURVEY OF HIS WORK*

S. A. Vahid

Amir Shakaib Arsalan of Damascus (Syria) once remarked that Iqbal is the greatest thinker the Muslim world has produced during the last thousand years. Iqbal's merits as an Islamic thinker are recognized by all, but what is often overlooked is the fact that he was not only a thinker but also a versatile genius. He was a poet, prose-writer, linguist, jurist, stateman, educationist, lawyer and an art critics besides a thinker of great merits. In fact the versatility of his genius staggers our imagination.

Iqbal was born in Sialkot in Pakistan on the border of Kashmir in 1877. After a distinguished career at school, he went to the Government College, Lahore, where he studied Arabic and philosophy and obtained the degree of M.A. in 1899. After serving for sometime in the Oriental College and Government College, Lahore, he went to Cambridge for studies. At the same time he carried out researches in Munich from where he got Doctorate as a result of his thesis on "*The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*", and also studied law. He returned home in 1908 and for sometime worked as a teacher and practised law. But finally he decided to concentrate on law.

Iqbal's outlook on life underwent two important changes during his stay in Europe. He developed an utter dislike for narrow and selfish nationalism which was the root cause of most political troubles in Europe and his admiration for a life of action and exertion became pronounced. He wrote:

> "The life of this world consists in movement; this is the established law of the world. On this road halt is out of place. A static condition means death."

When leaving England he warned Europe, in lines of rare prophetic vision, of the abyss towards which her materialism, imperialism and colonialism were leading her:

دیار مغرب کے رہنے والو خدا کی بستی دکاں نہیں ہے

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* This article is taken from Mr. S. A. Vahid's forth comming book. "Glimpses of Igbal."

کھرا جسے تم سمجھ رہے ہو وہ اب زر کم عیار ہوگا
تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خودکشی کرے گی
جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا ناپائیدار ہوگا

"O' residents of West, God's earth is not a bargaining counter,

The gold you are thinking to be genuine will prove to be of low value ;

Your civilisation is going to commit suicide with her own dagger;

The nest which is made on a frail bough cannot: but be insecure."

Iqbal who had already earned a name as a great poet before leaving for England wrote on return some epoch-making verses like *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i Shikwa*. In *Shikwa*, addressing the Almighty he asks why the Muslim people are so backward in spite of the great work their ancestors had done to spread His Last Message on the earth.

صفحۂ دھر سے باطل کو مٹایا ہم نے
نوع انساں کو غلامی سے چھڑایا ہم نے
تیرے کعبے کو جبینوں سے بسایا ہم نے
تیرے قرآن کو سینوں سے لگایا ہم نے
پھر بھی ہم سے یہ گلا ہے کہ وفادار نہیں
ہم وفادار نہیں تو بھی تو دلدار نہیں

"We erased the smudge of falsehood from the parchment of the firmament;

We redeemed the human species from the chains of slavery;

And we filled the Holy Kaaba with our foreheads humbly bent;

Clutching to our fervent bosoms the Koran in ecstacy;

Yet the charge is laid against us that we have played the faithless part;

If disloyal we have proved, least Thou deserved to win our heart." In *Jawab-i Shikwa* God Almighty points out the reasons why the Muslims have fallen so low:

منفعت ایک ہے اس قوم کی نقصان بھی ایک
ایک ہی سب کا نبی دین بھی ایمان بھی ایک
حرم پاک بھی اللہ بھی قرآن بھی ایک
کچھ بڑی بات تھی ہوتے جو مسلمان بھی ایک
فرقہ بندی ہے کہیں اور کہیں ذاتیں ہیں
کیا زمانے میں پنپنے کی یہی باتیں ہیں

One and common are the profit and the loss the people bear;

One and common are your Prophet, your religion and your creed;

One the Holy Sanctuary, one Koran, One God you share;

But But to act as one, and Muslims — that would every bound exceed.

Here sectarianism triumphs ; class and caste there rule the day;

Is it thus you hope to prosper, to regain your ancient sway?" In the end God addressing the poet speaks to the Muslims in an encouraging strain:

کی محمد سے وفا تونے تو ہم تیرے ہیں
یہ جہاں چیز ہے کیا لوح و قلم تیرے ہیں

'Be thou faithful to Muhammad, and We yield Ourselves to thee

Not this world alone—the Tablet and the Pen the prize shall be.

After these poems Iqbal adopted Persian language as the medium for his poetry and wrote in 1915 the famous poem *Asrar-i Khudi* followed in 1918 by

Rumuz-i Bekhudi. In *Asrar-i Khudi* Iqbal describes in beautiful poetry the philosophy of ego which is the basis of his philosophy. Iqbal is struck by the fact that there is individuality in everything that lives or exists ; the stars of heaven and the things of earth are all, according to Iqbal, individuals and do not merge in each other, but they do not possess individuality in an equal degree. Individuality becomes personality in man. Fortification of personality enables the ego to conquer environment and space on the one hand and time on the other, and to approach the greatest Ego of all egoes — God, in His attributes, and thus produce Superman or as Iqbal terms it Mard-i Momin. Man who comes nearest to God is the completest person. Thus Iqbal starts with a strong faith in the evolution of man. In order to help this evolution Iqbal considers the following factors necessary:

(1) Love:

(2) Faqr which can be best defined by the Prophet's Tradition! Faqr is my pride.

(3) Courage ;

(4) Tolerance ;

(5) Kasb-i Halal ;

(6) Taking part in original and creative activities.

In *Rumuz-i Bekhudi* Iqbāl has described the essential requirements of an ideal human society. For such a society he considers the following requirements:

(1) It must be based on spiritual considerations such as mono-theism.

(2) It must centre round inspired leadership or prophethood.

(3) It must possess a code for its guidance like the Koran,

(4) It must have a spiritual centre like the Kaaba.

(5) It must have a clear objective, and according to Iqbal the objective before the Muslims

is the propagation of Islam.

(6) It must strive to gain supremacy over the forces of nature, According to Iqbal a society can attain immortality only by fulfilling these requirements.

In 1928-29 Iqbal delivered a series of lectures on Islam, which have been published under the title The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam. These lectures are a precious contribution to Islamic literature and as soon as they were published they brought recognition to Iqbal as the leading thinker in the Muslim world. In these lectures Iqbal has attempted to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recents in the various domains of human knowledge. He boldly challenges the attitude of the Muslim Ulema who admitting ijtehad in theory, claim finality for the popular schools of Muslim Law:

> "Did the founders of our schools ever claim finality for their reasonings and interpretations? Never. The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to reinterpret the fundamental legal principles, in the light of their own experience and the altered conditions of modern life, is, in my opinion, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Quran that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problem."

(*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp 168)

Iqbal published many other poems in Urdu as well as in Persian, in which he preached fervently that the salvation for mankind is to be found only in its response to the message of Islam. This message is contained in poetry of transcendent and sublime beauty. His *magnum opus is Javid Namah*, whose concept is based on the *Meraj*, or the Ascension of the Prophet, and Ibn-e-Arabi's *Fatuhat-i-Makkia*. In a beautiful passage in *Javid Namah*, Abu Jehl, the inveterate enemy of the Prophet Muhammad, says in lamenting

tones:

سینۂ ما از محمد داغ داغ از دم اُو کعبه را گل شد چراغ
مذہب او قاطع ملک و نسب از قریش و منکر از فضل عرب
در نگاه او یکے بالا و پست با غلام خویش بریک خواں نشست
قدر احرار عرب نشناخته با کلفتان حبش در ساخته
احمراں با اسوداں آمیختند آبروئے دودمانے ریختند
ایں مسارات ایں مواخات اعجمی است خوب می دانم که مسلماں مزدکی است

"Muhammad scared my soul, his breath blew out

The light that radiated from Holy Kaaba;

His faith doth cut across both fatherland

And race, He belongs to the Quraysh and

Yet denies the superiority of the Arabs. He even holds

Equal both high and low and with his slave he dines;

He does not recognise free Arab's worth,

And ever repulsive negroes befriends;

He mixes the brown with the black, disowns.

All noble ancestry. This brother-hood

And this equality are foreign things, Completely un-Arabian."

Iqbal once said that when poetry is of the man-making type it is actually an offshoot of prophethood. Of such a type was his own poetry. For him the gift of song was simply a means to an end, to convey a message. At first

response to his message was rather disappointing. But the magic of his breath at last set aflame the smouldering fires of the Millat's spirit. Not only did he gain phenomenal popularity in his own life-time but what is more important, his poetry brought about a re-awakening and renaissance of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent in a way that had to be seen to be believed. He gave them back their self-respect and self-confidence, analysed and appraised the conflict of the East and the West, the old and the new, and gave us a new touch-stone as a final measure of value — the growth and integration of personality or the ego. The result was that a radical change came about among our people in their attitude toward life. The manners and morality, the religion and philosophy typical of a subservient people under the yoke of colonialism were replaced by the nobler ideals of a proud independent people. Physically we were not free but the spirit was emancipated, and once the mind has clearly imagined and firmly resolved an action, the formality of taking place follows as a matter of course. Within ten years of Iqbal's death, Pakistan was achieved. Iqbal, however, lived to see the spiritual revolution which prepared the way for this consummation. And today ninety million people of Pakistan regard him with love and gratitude as their spiritual father. But lqbal's concern was not with one country alone. He was and claimed to be a citizen of the world. The entire spirit of his poetry is cosmopolitan. To the West in particular he had some home-truths to tell, from which it is not to be thought that his condemnation of Western civilization was wholesale and unqualified. There was a great deal in Western culture which he admired, just as there was much in the Eastern culture which he exposed as decadent and worthless.

As we have remarked above Iqbal preached universal brotherhood of mankind in which all distinctions of colour, race and nationality would be abolished. In order to attain this brother-hood he naturally turns to the brotherhood of Muslim people- That no serious student of Sociology can afford to ignore Islam as a system will be clear from the following remarks by Dr. Maude Royden, a Christian missionary:

> "The religion of Mohamet proclaimed the first real democracy ever conceived in the mind of' man. His God was of such transcendent greatness that before Him all worldly differences were naught and even the deep and the cruel cleavages of colour ceased to exist The Muslim, black, brown, or white alone finds himself accepted as a brother not

according to his colour but his creed."

There is no doubt that discrimination due to colour and blood differences was spreading amongst the people, and it was for this reason that Iqbal exhorted the Muslims to remember:

نه افغانیم و نے ترک و نتازیم　　چمن زادیم و از یک شاخساریم
تمیز رنگ و بو بر ما حرام است　　که ما پروردۂ یک نو بہاریم

"Not Afghans, Turks or sons of Tartary,

But of one garden, and one trunk are we ;

Shun the criterion of scent and hue,

We all the nurshings of one springtime be."

Emphasising the dignity of man Iqbal says:

تو اے کودک منش خود را ادب کن　　مسلماں زادۂ ترک نسب کن
برنگ احمر و خون و رگ و پوست　　عرب نامزد اگر ترک عرب کن

"Leave childishess, and learn a better lore;

Abandon race, if thee a Muslim bore;

If of his colour, blood and veins and skin

The Arab boasts an Arab be no more."

Addressing the Arabs he says:

یہ نکتہ پہلے سکھایا گیا کس امت کو　　وصال مصطفوی، افتراق بولہبی
نہیں وجود حدود و ثغور سے اس کا　　محمد عربی سے ہے عالم عربی

"Which millat was taught this point;

Unity is the way of Mustafa and disunity the way of Abu-Lahab;

The Arab world is not prescribed by geographical boundaries;

The limits of Arab world are prescribed by Muhammad of Arabia."

Once Iqbal wrote:

"If the object of the human world is peace and security and to knit the various social units into one entity then it is impossible to think of any other system except Islam, because from what I understand from the Quran Islam does not claim merely to improve man's moral condition but to bring about a gradual but basic change in human society."

It was for this reason that Iqbal preached a Confederation of the Muslim world with the Arab world and Mecca as the nucleus. As already remarked Iqbal was one of the greatest thinkers of the world. He had drunk deep of Eastern and Western philosophy and so it is natural that his thought shows an affinity with the thought of the thinkers of the world. This has led many students of Iqbal to trace the source of his thought But Iqbal has left no doubts on this point. Again and again he emphasises that the source of his thought is Koran and Koran alone.

"Take this message from me to the Arabian poets;

I attached no importance to ruby Iips;

From the light that I gathered from the Koran ;

I ushered a man after a night lasting over hundred years."

Thus it will be seen that Iqbal was one of those natural forces that shape the destiay of mankind. By his sublime poetry and other writings he made the Muslims of the world realise their great mission in the world and led ninety million Pakistanis to a free homeland. It is true that Iqbal's appreciation and popularity spread more rapidly in non-Arab countries first because he wrote mostly in Urdu and Persian. But now the Arab countries have taken his poetry to their heart as much as any other nation. Some of the earliest introduction that Iqbal got to the Arab world were through Al-Bashir, the

Arabic magazine of Pakistan, while Hasan-ul-Azmi, a Pakistan scholar who studied at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, did much poineer work in translating Iqbal's poetry into Arabic. He brought out an anthology of lqbal's poetry in Arabic which included translation of his *tarana* by himself and translations of *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i Shikwa* by an Egyptian poet Saddy Aly Shahla. Another anthology appeared later on in Baghdad by that talented poetess Amira Nureddin. But the great contribution made in this field is by the late Dr. Abdul Wahab Azzam Bey. This great scholar whose early death was a great loss to the subject of Iqbal studies, has translated in Arabic verse *Payam-i-Mashriq* and *Asrar-o Rumuz* besides many other poems. These translation s while retaining the meaning as well as spirit of the original reflect the fire and colour of Iqbal, because the Arabic language is well suited to express such epic themes and sonorous rhythms as are found in Iqbal. It is only hoped that his other poems will also be translated in Arabic soon. As remarked above his one aim was to bring the Muslims of the world into closer relationship and to achieve this he has not only sung of the glories of Arab culture and the contriubuton to modern civilisation, but has also given messages to them which are beautifully summarised in the oration of the Mehdi of Sudan:

گفت اے روح عرب بیدار شو چوں نیاکان خالق اعصار شو
اے فواد اے فیصل اے ابن سعود تا کجا برخویش پیچیدن چو دود
زندہ کن در سینہ آں سوزے کہ رفت در جہاں باز آور آں روزے کہ رفت
خاک بطحا خالدے دیگر بزائے نغمۂ توحید را دیگر سرائے

("With a sigh on his lips) he said, "Arise

O Arabs' soul and like thy ancestors

Create new times. O Faysal and Fuad,

And Ibn-e-Saud, how long will you like smoke

Wind round thyselves? Rekindle fire in hearts

And bring into the world the day that's gone:

O' Batha's land, Khalid new produce;

And sing the song of one God once again!"

To the Arabs of Palestine he said:

زمانہ اب بھی نہیں جس کے سوز سے فارغ
میں جانتا ہوں وہ آتش ترے وجود میں ہے
تری دوا نہ جنیوا می ں ہے نہ لندن میں
فرنگ کی رنگ جاں پنجۂ یہود میں ہے
سنا ہے میں نے غلاموں سے اُمتّوں کی نجات
خودی کی پرورش و لذت نمود میں ہے

"The warmth of which this world cannot stand,

I know that fire is latent in thy existence.

Thy remedy is neither in Geneva nor London,

Europe's very life is controlled by the Jews.

I have heard that nations can get riddance of slavery

Only by developing their own selves,"

Iqbal worked for the resurgence of the Muslim people all his life, and before he died on 21st April, 1938, there were already signs of renaissance among the Muslims of the world. Colonialism and imperial-ism were disappearing and the hold of Western powers over Muslim countries in Asia and Africa was loosening.